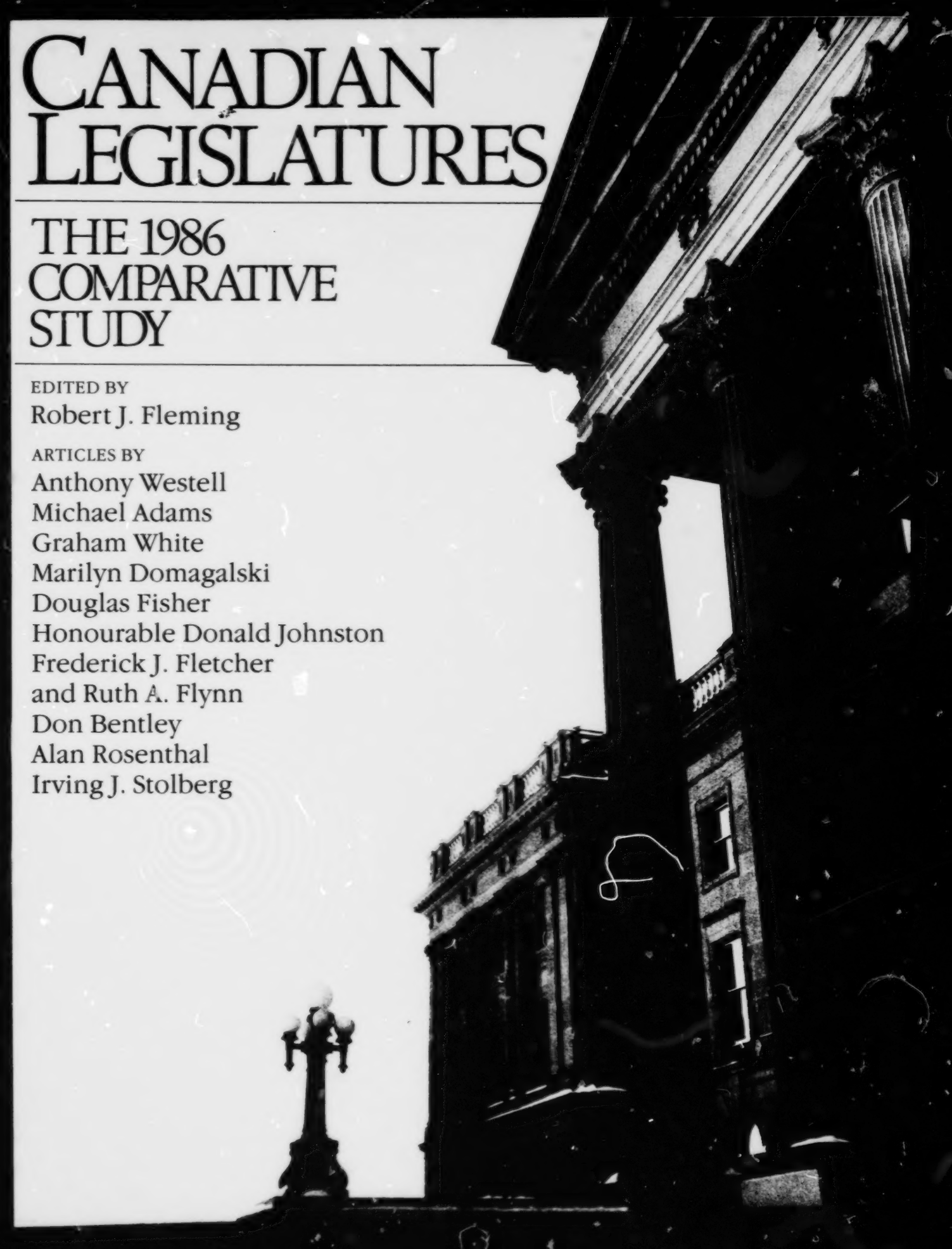
CANADIAN LEGISLATURES

THE 1986 COMPARATIVE STUDY

EDITED BY
Robert J. Fleming

ARTICLES BY
Anthony Westell
Michael Adams
Graham White
Marilyn Domagalski
Douglas Fisher
Honourable Donald Johnston
Frederick J. Fletcher
and Ruth A. Flynn
Don Bentley
Alan Rosenthal
Irving J. Stolberg



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THE 1986 COMPARATIVE STUDY

THE EDITORS

Robert J. Fleming, the founder of Canadian Legislatures, is the Administrator of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario and Secretary to the Board of Internal Economy

Patrick Fafard, Assistant Editor, is Mr. Fleming's Executive Assistant and Assistant Secretary to the Board of Internal Economy

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EDITOR'S NOTE

According to our readers, *Canadian Legislatures* is increasingly being turned to as a reference book by those working in legislatures, government, business, academe, the media and legislature watchers. It is used by politicians who wish to obtain a "fix" on how their particular legislature compares with others, by political scientists as a class aid, and by journalists who need ready access to statistical information which is not available from any other central source.

Canadian Public Administration, the journal of the Institute of Canadian Public Administration of Canada, in a review of *Canadian Legislatures* in its Fall 1986 Edition summed up the aims and purposes of this Comparative Study in this way:

> "Since 1979 this publication has been published annually, giving up-to-date information to fill a specific need: that of sharing information which might in turn improve the standard of legislature administrative management throughout Canada. The publication focuses on the importance and relevance of legislative institutions as entities distinct from government, and is dedicated to enhancing the role and image of our legislators and legislatures."

It would be almost impossible to improve upon this mission statement.

In recent months suggestions have come from various quarters that, as interest in the legislative community grows, *Canadian Legislatures* should expand to examine some additional legislative bodies. Jae Eadie, a Winnipeg City Councillor, thought we should begin to look at both the Canadian and U.S. Senates; and in a book review of *Canadian Legislatures* in the April 1986 Edition of The Parliamentarian, the Journal of the Parliaments of the Commonwealth, published in London, England, Dr. Gary Levy suggested: "the next volume could perform a singular service by expanding its obvious interest in Canadian-American legislatures into a feature on the operation of consultative assemblies such as the Nordic Council, the parliamentary branch of the Council of Europe or the European Parliament".

As far as examining senates is concerned we believe this lies outside our present purview which relates to lower houses. However, in this Edition, following the U.S. Section, we include a 1986 analysis of Members' pay for the European Parliament and those countries represented in the European Economic Community (EEC), reprinted with the kind permission of The Economist of London, England.

Dr. Joseph Cooper, Dean of the School of Social Science at Rice University in Houston, Texas, sees *Canadian Legislatures* as a unique publication in that it brings together in one place comparative data and information which would otherwise be unavailable. This information is important and relevant to the development of the legislature as an institution he believes. Dr. Cooper served from 1976-77 as Director of the Commission on Administrative Review for the U.S. House of Representatives.

Taking a leaf out of Dr. Cooper's book we decided that with this issue of *Canadian Legislatures* the time had come not only to bring data together in one place but also people, some of the people who have important things to say about legislatures. We acknowledge with gratitude the contribution of Canadians Michael Adams, Don Bentley, Marilyn Domagalski, Douglas Fisher, Fred Fletcher, Ruth Flynn, the Honourable Donald Johnston, Anthony Westell and Graham White. Individu-

ally their views and ideas are varied and imaginative; collectively their insights may offer a new road map for legislatures as they move towards the year 2000.

As in the past we provide up-to-date information concerning the operations of U.S. state legislatures. Granted it is difficult to compare these with their Canadian counterparts—as difficult, some have pointed out, as comparing apples with oranges. Nevertheless U.S. legislatures are part of the same community reflecting not only diversity but in some cases new approaches to Members' services, institutional management and technological development. Those Americans who have given of their valuable time to this survey are listed in the Acknowledgements Section.

We are particularly indebted to Representative Irving Stolberg of the Connecticut House of Representatives, President of the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), and to Alan Rosenthal, Director of the Eagleton Institute of Rutgers University, for their articles in this Edition. They present a refreshing perspective on the growth of U.S. legislatures.

Canadian Legislatures once again carries a national survey of public attitudes towards Canada's legislators and legislatures conducted in late September 1986 by Environics Research Group Ltd. with analysis prepared by its President Michael Adams. We would like to express our appreciation to Benson & Hedges (Canada) Inc. for making this survey possible.

We also wish to recognize the Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy as well as Benson & Hedges (Canada) Inc. for their generous assistance in helping to underwrite this Edition and its distribution to all Members of Canada's legislatures.

The production of *Canadian Legislatures* takes place each year during November in order to be as up-to-date as possible on all figures and data. Those who are involved mostly work during evenings and weekends contributing their services without remuneration. The preparation of this Edition, our largest to date, would not have been possible without the support of Sandra Bowen, Patrick Fafard and Nancy Ross of my office. Their dedication, persistence and good humour is unfailing. I thank them too for their enthusiasm for the project, without which there would be no point in producing *Canadian Legislatures*.

Finally, I thank Douglas Fisher for researching and preparing an article for *Canadian Legislatures* examining the history and growth of Question Period in the House of Commons. *Canadian Legislatures* is, in a sense, an emanation of the Ontario Commission on the Legislature (the Camp Commission) of which Douglas was a member along with Dalton Camp and Farquhar Oliver. Resulting from my work with that Commission the germ of an idea grew which led to the creation of *Canadian Legislatures* in 1979.

Robert J. Fleming, Editor
Toronto, Canada
December 1986

FOREWORD

The issue of adequate resources for parliaments was dealt with in Parliament in the 1980s published in Britain last year and edited by Dr. Philip Norton. In a chapter by Bruce George MP and Ken Batty, dealing with finances and facilities for British MPs the authors state: "We are asking our representatives to meet the challenge of the 1980s with resources that show an attitude based in the 1930s... The continued failure of the House to match public expectations is substantially due to the inadequate resources at its disposal... We are not suggesting that more and better facilities are a panacea for Britain's political malaise but we suggest that without them we cannot expect our representatives to begin to conquer it."

In 1986 the budget for the operation of Canada's legislatures—the House of Commons, provincial and territorial legislatures—totals $362 million. This works out to an increase of $37 million over 1985, or $100 million over 1982. It further points to the fact that the problem of resources for legislatures in this country has been substantially addressed in the past few years.

However, as legislatures become better financed, organized and publicized, there are rising expectations from the public as to quality and output. "Can the same standards that are applied in judging the performance of business corporations and other sectors of society now be applied to legislators and the legislative environment?" they ask. An astute and aware electorate are now examining the institution closely and formulating some clear impressions.

The October 1986 national survey by Environics Research Group Inc., included in this issue, found that 51% of Canadians think our system of government is the best in the world. However, 75% believe change is needed.

According to the survey, three in ten Canadians report their interest in Question Period and Debates has increased since television was first allowed into Parliament; however, at the same time more than one-third of our citizens are losing respect for parliament.

The level of cynicism on the part of Canada's youth reported in the survey is alarming: 60% of those aged 18 to 29 do not have faith in the honesty and sincerity of their parliamentary representatives.

In a similar vein the June 1986 issue of the periodical Canada Tomorrow questioned: "Can our elected representatives truly represent us?... Not only is the communications revolution changing the way of traditional political processes, it is beginning to force us to recognize that new political theories need to be devised. Democracy is not dead. But some of our ways of practicing it are obsolete."

It would appear that Canadians are more than ever ready to accommodate whatever changes are needed to make legislatures more responsive to the needs of the 1980s.

For many years Canadian legislatures possessed inadequate resources both in terms of being able to act as an effective check on government and, beyond that, being able to give backbenchers a greater role in setting priorities for change and in being lawmakers. In the past few years those who have been elected to many of Canada's legislatures have been able to make giant steps forward. The expenditure statistics attest to the fact that legislatures have come into their own since the start of the 1980s. Members of the House of Commons, the Legislatures of Québec and Ontario increasingly have the power to examine policy issues, normally the preserve of government, and to take action both in the legislatures and on behalf of their constituents. This would have been unthinkable a decade ago.

Legislatures are also better managed, and as a result attract bright young people to work in an environment where high standards are demanded and opportunity and challenge is an everyday experience.

In his article "Why Parliament Must Command our Respect" which introduces the next section of *Canadian Legislatures*, Anthony Westell, a distinguished newspaper columnist and a professor in the School of Journalism at Carleton University, raises questions which go to the heart of winning the confidence of the electorate and the development of the modern legislature. Professor Westell believes that the preservation of certain symbols and respect for parliament go hand in hand. "Canadians have downgraded almost all the 'dignified' elements which must command respect for their system of government" he says. In his opinion the lack of respect for the Crown, Cabinet and Parliament has reached crisis proportions. He sees these as essential symbols. Without them Canadians may lack a feeling of being part of a whole picture. Westell suggests that "in the balance of this century no political task can be more important than undertaking a thorough overhaul of what has become an archaic system of government".

As Canadian Public Administration pointed out in its review, *Canadian Legislatures* "is dedicated to enhancing the role and image of our legislators and legislatures". It is in this spirit that we tie some of the penetrating phrases taken from Professor Westell's article to photographs taken at legislatures across the country.

In her article on Canadian women in politics, Marilyn Domagalski notes that women constitute more than one-half the population of Canada yet continue to be "vastly underrepresented" in both the House of Commons and provincial legislatures.

Domagalski, a management consultant, says that during the period 1950—1986 only 132 women were elected to provincial legislatures. Before the 1984 Federal election she found that the historic rate of increase in the number of women elected to the House of Commons was so low that "it would be well into the next century before half the Members were women".

This projection was based on the fact that between 1921 and 1984 only 65 women were elected to the House of Commons. In 1984, 15% of all candidates in the Federal election were women and 10% were elected. Now a newly formed organization known as The Committee for '94 is aiming for a 50% representation by women in the Commons by 1994.

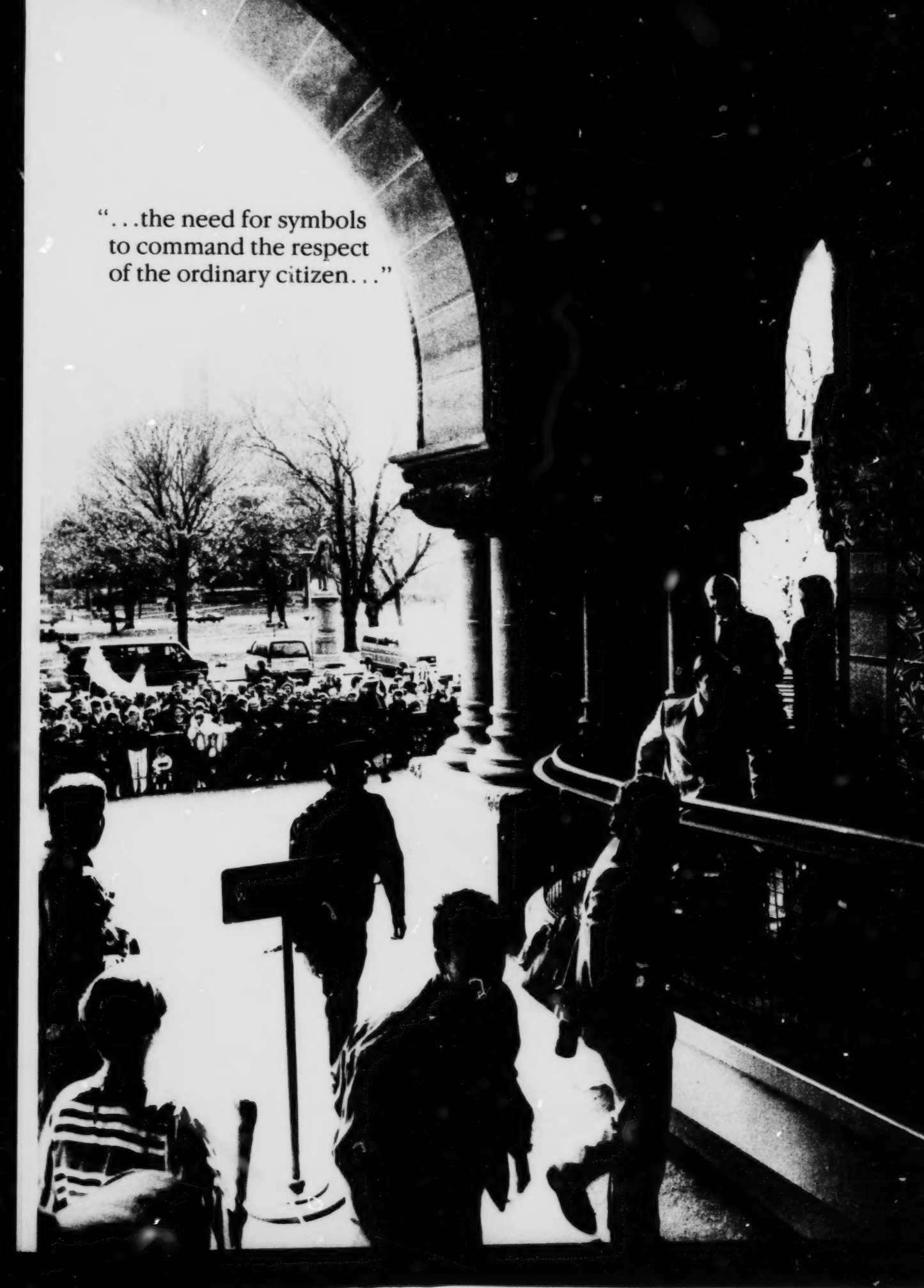
The emergence of more women being elected across Canada is bound to have an effect on legislatures both in terms of establishing priorities for lawmaking and in bringing institutional change.

Alan Rosenthal, Director of the Eagleton Institute at Rutgers University, and a contributor to this Edition of *Canadian Legislatures*, is acutely aware of the growth in American legislatures. As a political scientist he not only studies legislatures but recently spent five months working in the Florida State Legislature. Addressing the annual meeting of the National Conference of State Legislatures several months ago he said there is a need for citizen groups to look at legislatures in his country "just to get legislators thinking about their legislatures". He sees a great need to "uplift the institution". He emphasizes: "That is not, however, to ridicule the effort being made by elected Members. They are so overwhelmed by the competitiveness of the atmosphere that they don't have time for maintaining the legislature". Rosenthal makes an interesting point in his current article: "As an institution, the legislature has purposes of its own, beyond those of the individuals who serve at any one time... As such, it must be maintained for its own sake, for the process it offers as much as for the policies it produces... Yet, it needs constant care and attention from its Members. I do not think its needs are being met and that troubles me".

When all is said and done, those who are elected to or work in legislatures are in service to protect and advance the cause of parliamentary democracy. In spite of the bumps along the way the institution will endure and regenerate itself and advance as has been shown by so many positive developments in recent years. The times and the public both demand that outdated styles and concepts be left behind as we approach the year 2000. That is the challenge.

Facing the Year 2000

A Series of Essays on the Development of Canadian Legislatures


"...the need for symbols
to command the respect
of the ordinary citizen..."

LOOKING AHEAD

Why Parliament Must Command Respect

BY ANTHONY WESTELL

It is commonplace to say that Parliament nowadays enjoys little public respect or interest, and indeed the poll done for this edition of *Canadian Legislatures* provides striking and alarming proof:

About 54% of the respondents believe that most federal and provincial members of parliament are less than honest and sincere;

Approximately 75% feel that Parliament should be reformed, with only 16% opposing reform and the remainder undecided—or perhaps, to insert a comment, simply not interested.

Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that the reputation of Parliament and parliamentarians is certainly not improving and may be declining. In a 1983 Gallup survey done for the Canadian Study of Parliament Group, only 60% of those surveyed felt that reform was needed as compared to 75% today. This is a sad commentary on the state of Canadian democracy; the decline of Parliament is not merely a fact of life to be acknowledged and ignored as if it were of no practical importance, but as evidence that the system of government is not working and urgently needs attention.

Questions Demanding Answers

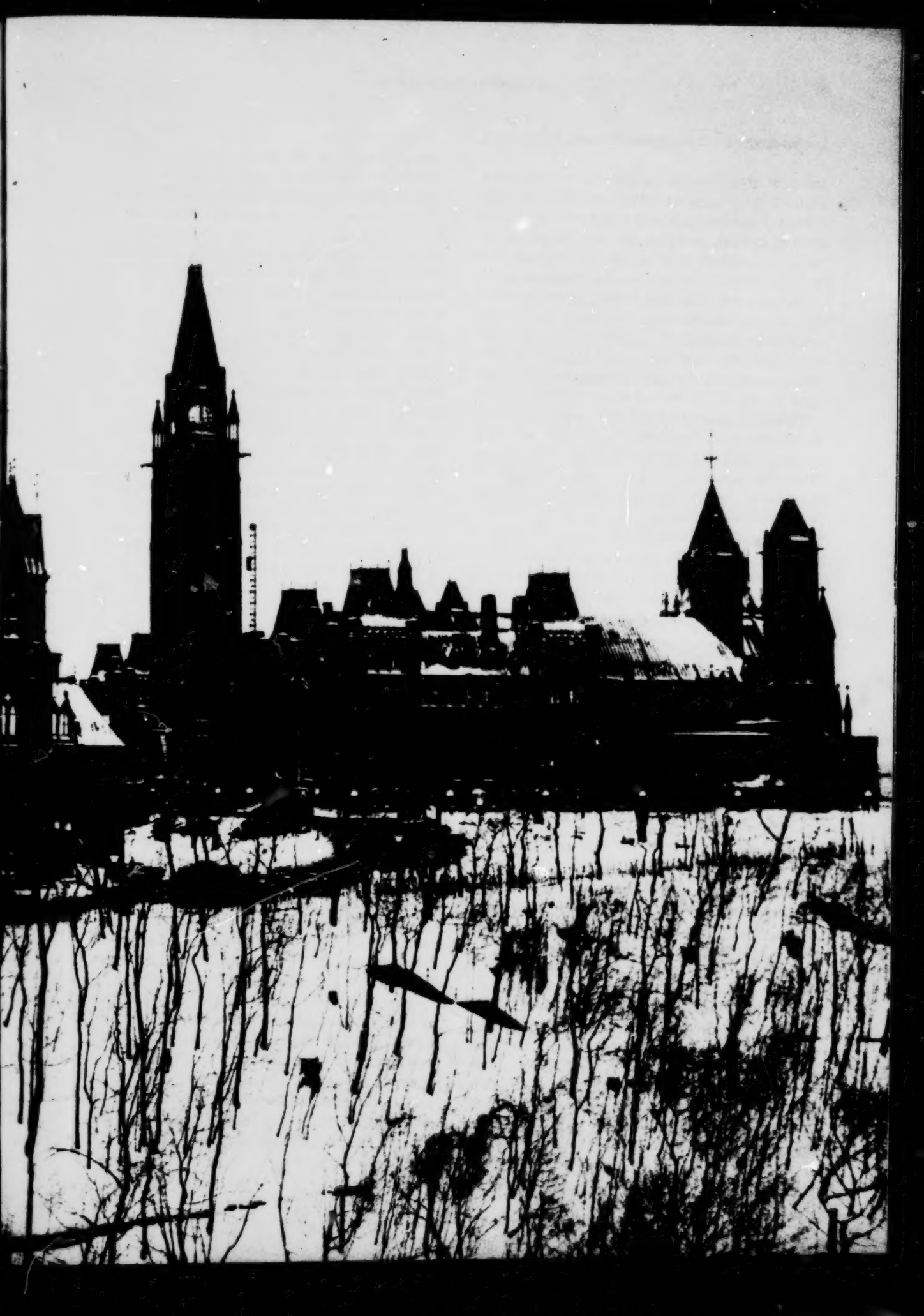
The first question to arise is why is it that Parliament has fallen to such low estate in the regard of the public, and why in fact that the whole process of government in Canada is now so widely criticized? One reason often mentioned is the introduction of television. The most recent poll showed that over one-third of the respondents felt that the introduction of television had resulted in a decline in their respect for, and confidence in, members of parliament. This is not to say that television itself is the cause but rather that television has brought the performance of parliament to public attention.

Another reason may be the adversarial attitude of the news media who tend to regard themselves as the real opposition to the government and therefore pay little attention to the routine work of Parliament in reviewing and checking the actions of the Executive. But the excesses of party politics are to some extent the result of frustrations felt by MPs as they struggle with the system, and the almost contemptuous disregard of the media perhaps reflects rather than leads the attitude of the public toward the central institution of Canadian democracy. The rude and undignified displays during Question Period and the attitude of the media therefore are probably not causes but symptoms of a deeper problem.

The problem may be that Canada has abandoned many of the elements of parliamentary government which commanded the interest and respect of previous generations. It is noteworthy that while Americans often criticize their system of government, including their Congress, they seem not to have withdrawn their respect for it. Some insights into the Canadian problem can be found in the classic work, The English Constitution, by Walter Bagehot, published in 1867. Writing as a journalist—he was editor of The Economist at the time—Bagehot described the workings of the British government as he observed it, rather than as a theorist. It was in 1867 also that the British North America Act was passed, giving Canada a constitution "similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom"—similar in other words to the system described by Bagehot.

Rick Hansen arrives at the Ontario Legislative Building, Toronto.

"...the decline of Parliament is not merely a fact of life to be acknowledged and ignored as if it were of no practical importance, but as evidence that the system of government is not working and urgently needs attention."



Importance of Symbols

He saw that the parliamentary system was really a disguised republic: the Crown, the House of Lords, the pomp and ceremony, were what he called the "dignified" elements of the constitution and they served to impress the mass of people who were not sufficiently educated to appreciate the subtle workings of a democracy; the Cabinet and the House of Commons, occupied largely by the upper middle class, were the "efficient" element in the system and actually managed the public business.

Canada had until, say 25 years ago, dignified elements in the system of government. The monarch was revered and was for many Canadians the natural ruler; a royal visit was a great national occasion. The royal family was much admired as an example of the ideal family. Today, the Queen is respected, even loved as a person, but is in no sense a Canadian ruler. Her family seem to be regarded almost as stars of a soap opera, with their romances, scandals, blunders and rows followed eagerly by tens of millions around the world. When reality becomes too dull, the scriptwriters in Fleet Street invent new dramas, and even the most avid follower can no longer separate truth from fiction. But while the Royal Family attracts more attention than ever before, it is as entertainers rather than rulers, an English version of Dallas or Dynasty. It is true that the Queen and some of those around her exhibit great personal dignity, but the institution of monarchy is no longer a dignified element in Canadian government: it does not awe and impress as it did in Bagehot's time, or even as it did a quarter-century ago.

"The problem may be that Canada has abandoned many of the elements of Parliamentary Government which commanded the interest and respect of previous generations."

With the decline of the monarchy has gone, naturally enough, the decline of the office of Governor General. Governor Generals once played a prominent role in the ceremonial life of Canada; today they are hardly noticed, much to the surprise and dismay of some of the recent occupants of Rideau Hall. It is doubtful if even the Brownies would turn out these days to line the streets for the viceregal couple and, if they did, how many would know the first thing about the office? The Senate was supposed to be Canada's version of the House of Lords, the senior House in which distinguished citizens would have sober second thoughts about the works of the unruly democrats in the lower House of Commons, and stand guard over the Canadian compact. It is now of course treated by the media as a bad joke, a comfortable home for ageing party hacks. In fact, the Senate does much useful work, but its public reputation is damaged beyond repair and, rather than lending dignity to government, it brings it into discredit.

The Need for a Dignified Element

But does it matter if we no longer have the dignified elements of government which Bagehot thought to be necessary to command the respect of the masses? After all, he was writing more than a century ago in a developing industrial society and had a low opinion of the working classes of the time:

> "We have in a great community like England crowds of people scarcely more civilized than the majority of two thousand years ago; we have others, even more numerous, such as the best people were a thousand years since. The lower orders, the middle orders, are still, when tried by what is the standard of the educated 'ten thousand', narrow-minded, unintelligent, incurious. It is useless to pile up abstract words. Those who doubt should go into their kitchens. Let an accomplished man try what seems to him most obvious, most certain, most palpable in intellectual matters, upon the housemaid and the footman, and he will find what he says seems unintelligible, confused, and

> erroneous—that his audience thinks him mad and wild when he is speaking what is in his own sphere of thought the dullest platitude of cautious soberness."

Bagehot himself thought the situation would be different in "the North American colonies of England, and in the whole free States of the Union". Over here, he wrote, there was no "honest poverty", physical comfort was easily attainable, and education diffused and spreading. Such a fortunate people could elect their own parliament and govern themselves without the need for a dignified element to command their attention, awe and obedience. But here Bagehot was speculating rather than reporting on the world he could observe at first hand, and he may have got it wrong. Education and a higher level of political literacy may not have eliminated the need for tradition and ceremony in government, for the myth which makes humdrum reality acceptable. Writing in the United States some 50 years after Bagehot, Walter Lippmann, also a journalist, disposed of the notion of the omnicompetent citizen able to receive and assess information in an objective way and so supervise his own government. Even if the news media were able to provide all the accurate information necessary to decision-making, which they were not, said Lippmann, ordinary people would still of necessity think in stereotypes, and the daily business of governing a great national community was best left to professionals. That implies the need for symbols to command the respect of the ordinary citizen at least between elections.

The United States does in fact have dignified and working elements in its system of government: as Head of State, the President is a dignified and unifying figure; as Head of Government, he is a working and often controversial political figure. In Canada, the situation is quite different. There is in effect no dignified Head of State, but only a Head of Government who is always deep in political controversy. And when the Prime Minister seems to be assuming a presidential style, as was the case with Pierre Trudeau and is now more so with Brian Mulroney, the presumption is much criticized.

The U.S. Constitution Rules Supreme

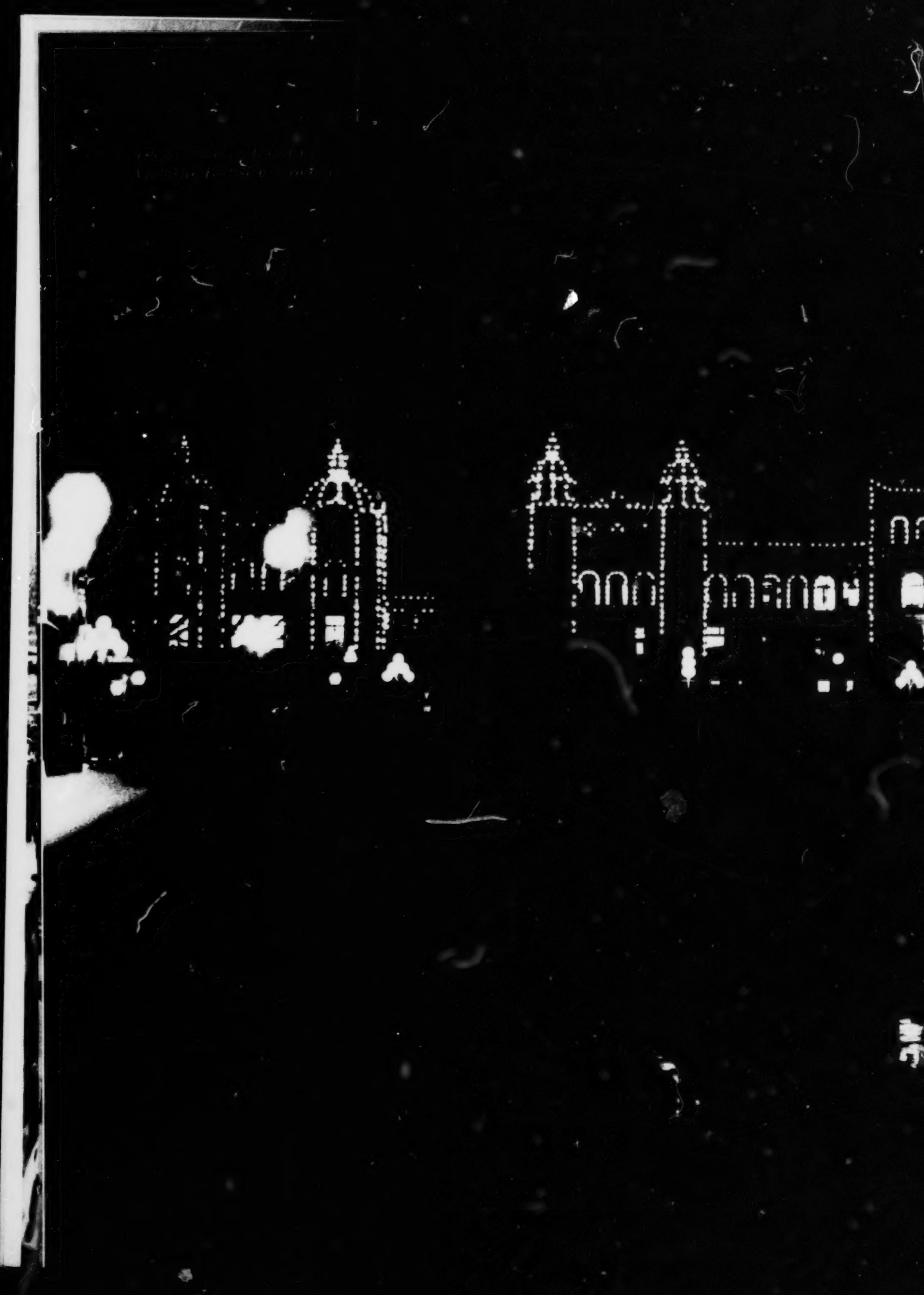
Government in the United States is built around an almost sacred document, the Constitution, which has its own priesthood in the courts. Administrations may come and go, but the constitution as interpreted by the courts rules supreme, a legacy from the Founding Fathers. Canada now has its own constitution including a Charter of Rights, but it has not been fully accepted by Québec, and in English-speaking Canada its meanings and limits are still being established in the courts. The 1981 constitutional settlement, in fact, generated no great public enthusiasm; as Keith Banting and Richard Simeon called their book about the achievement, And No One Cheered. Certainly it does not set out a philosophy of the State equivalent to the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, and it is probably fair to say that the new Canadian constitution is even less well understood by the average Canadian than the old BNA Act and the British traditions.

A Downgrading in Canada

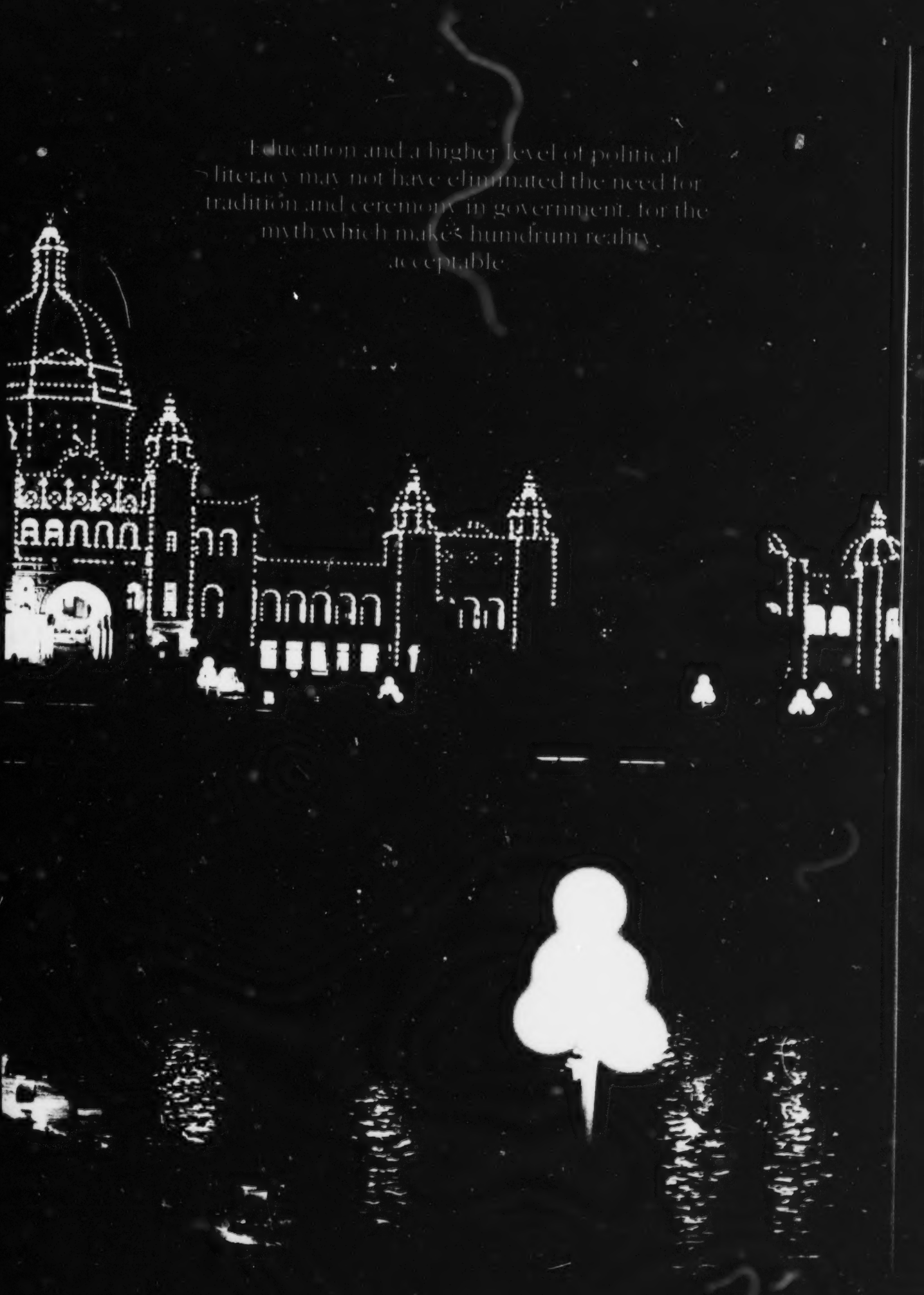
In other words, Canadians have downgraded almost all the traditional "dignified" elements which once commanded respect for their system of government. We are left with what Bagehot thought of as the "efficient" parts—except that in important ways they are no longer efficient. He saw through the myth that Britain was governed by the elected representatives of the people in the House of Commons; the main function of the Commons, he said, was to elect an executive, or Cabinet:

> "The Cabinet, in a word, is a board of control chosen by the legislature, out of persons whom it trusts and knows, to rule the nation."

But once chosen, the Cabinet fused the executive and the legislative powers, and this made for efficiency in government—this was indeed Bagehot's "efficient secret" of the English constitution which Canada was supposed to copy. But things have changed in Canada since 1867. The House of Commons has lost its prime function of choosing a Cabinet: national



Education and a higher level of political literacy may not have eliminated the need for tradition and ceremony in government, for the myth which makes humdrum reality acceptable



party conventions choose party leaders, one of whom becomes Prime Minister; the PM then selects his or her Cabinet which the Commons must endorse. The Prime Minister rather than the Cabinet governs, and he or she is only nominally responsible to the Commons; it is far more important to manage media and public opinion outside the Commons. The Commons has become a mere sideshow, and in these circumstances it is almost impossible for it to play what Bagehot considered to be its second role, which was to "express the mind of the people". Members can hardly speak for the people if nobody is listening, and the truth is that they are no longer expected to be influential in the conduct of affairs. The citizen who wishes to be heard by the government hires a lobbyist, or joins a special-interest group, or tries to persuade the news media to take up the cause.

"In the balance of this century no political task can be more important than undertake a thorough overhaul of what has become an archaic system of government."

A Thorough Overhaul is Needed

The system is still efficient in the sense that it is clean and fast: the executive—which is to say, the Prime Minister with advice from Cabinet and bureaucracy—both makes policy and, through control of majority party in the Commons, legislates it. But it is hardly government which is responsible to Parliament, and it is not efficient in the sense of producing good administration and legislation which themselves might earn the respect of the public. Polls measure the extraordinary political volatility of public opinion, and also the lack of respect for Parliament and for the profession of politics. Encouraged and sometimes led by the media, which often act as if they were the real House of Commons expressing the mind of the public, the people search restlessly for new leaders and new ideas that can somehow impose order on what is perceived to be the chaos of government—a system no longer understood or respected, a republic in all but name which continues to masquerade as a monarchy and gets credit for neither.

Needed: A Modern Bagehot

In the balance of this century no political task can be more important than to undertake a thorough overhaul of what has become an archaic system of government. But what is needed first is a modern Bagehot to explain in plain language how the existing Canadian system works, or fails to work—not what the textbooks tell us but the modern reality and significance of Crown, Cabinet and Parliament, so that Canadians can demand the radical changes which alone will restore their interest in and respect for their system of government.

Anthony Westell is a political commentator writing from Ottawa.

Students who will inherit
the 21st Century
visit the Ontario Legislature
in Toronto.

CANADIAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS LEGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS

A New National Survey

BY MICHAEL ADAMS

This Report has been prepared for Canadian Legislatures *by Michael Adams, President, and Jordan A. Levitin, Senior Associate, Environics Research Group Limited, based on a survey of 2039 adult Canadians from coast to coast undertaken during the period September 24 to October 15, 1986. Trend data is based on a similar survey of 2038 adult Canadians conducted between September 13 and 30, 1984. Both surveys were funded by grants from Benson & Hedges (Canada) Inc.*

In its first Speech from the Throne in November, 1984, the new Progressive Conservative Government expressed its intention to examine "the relationship of Parliament with the people of Canada". To achieve this, the Special Committee on Reform of the House of Commons was established under the chairmanship of veteran MP the Hon. James A. McGrath. The Committee was charged with the task of finding ways to enhance the role of the Private Member.

Just before the December 1984 creation of the "McGrath Committee", Environics Research Group Limited conducted a survey for *Canadian Legislatures* to examine the public's attitudes towards the country's legislative institutions. At that time, Canadians felt that Parliament was ripe for reform. Findings pointed to strong public support for the enhancement of the role of the Private Member, and for Question Period as a means of critical scrutiny of the government by parliamentarians. It was felt that the televising of Question Period assured the public that they were getting "value for their vote".

During the past two years parliament has come under even closer media and public attention. In the House of Commons, Question Period took on a more confrontational air, brought about mainly by the spirited Liberal "Rat Pack" and former Government House Leader and Deputy Prime Minister Erik Nielson's tight-lipped "stonewalling" style. A record ten Members were ousted from the House (including NDP Leader Ed Broadbent), and the House witnessed the resignation of Speaker John Bosley because, on his own admission, he felt he had "lost the authority to do the job".

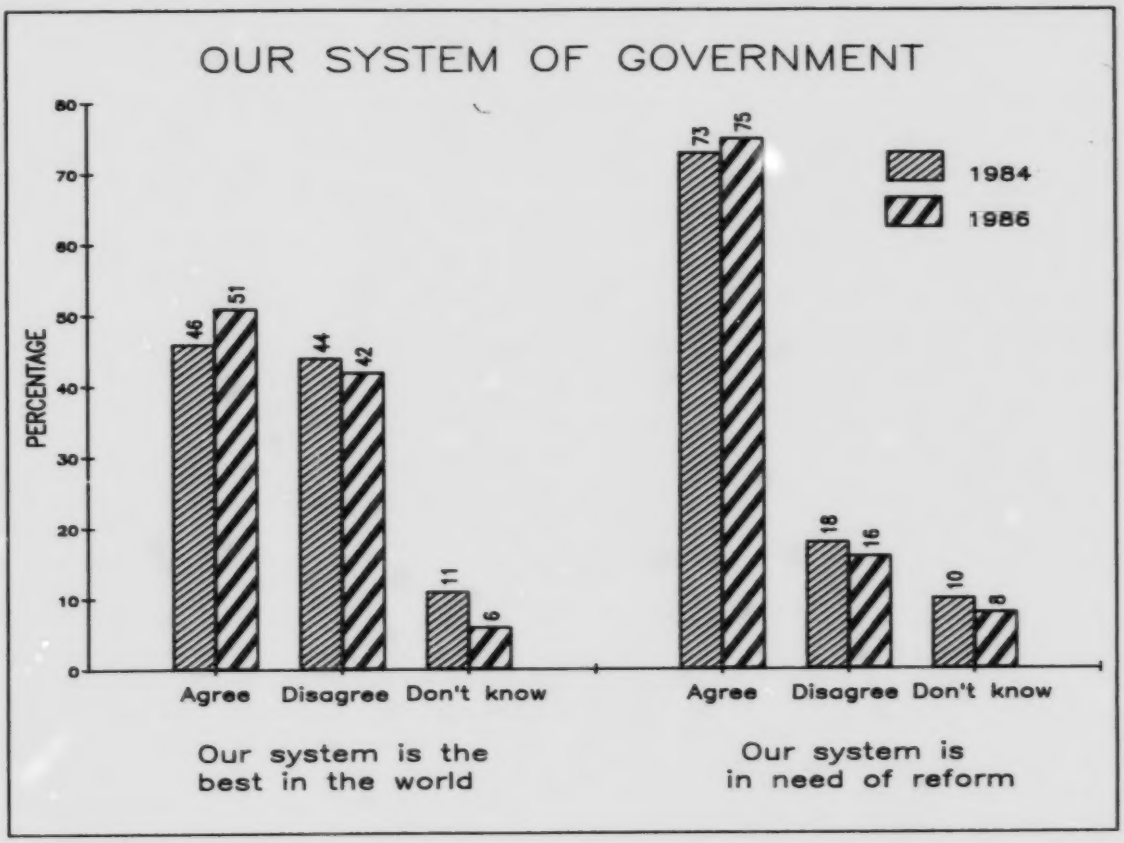
The general public experienced Parliament's raucous behaviour on a daily basis through televised proceedings on cable or satellite and taped highlights on news broadcasts.

Television was originally introduced into the House of Commons in 1977, and subsequently into the Québec, Ontario and Saskatchewan legislatures. Observers immediately noticed behavioural changes. In Ottawa desk pounding was replaced by applause. Members hastily switched seats to fill up empty places behind individuals who were speaking. Accusations began to surface that MPs were "playing to the cameras" in order to put in an appearance on the evening news.

Former Speaker Bosley observed "... it also seems to many of our constituents that our language and decorum do not match those quite sensible citations (in Beauchesne and in our rule book) and that we are not projecting the image of honourable men and women that is expected of us."

The McGrath Report was tabled in June 1985. Its recommendations included:

- —increasing the independence of standing committees;
- —empowering the House to impose a fine for contempt of Parliament;
- —empowering the Speaker "to order the withdrawal of a Member for the remainder of a sitting, and to suspend a


OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT
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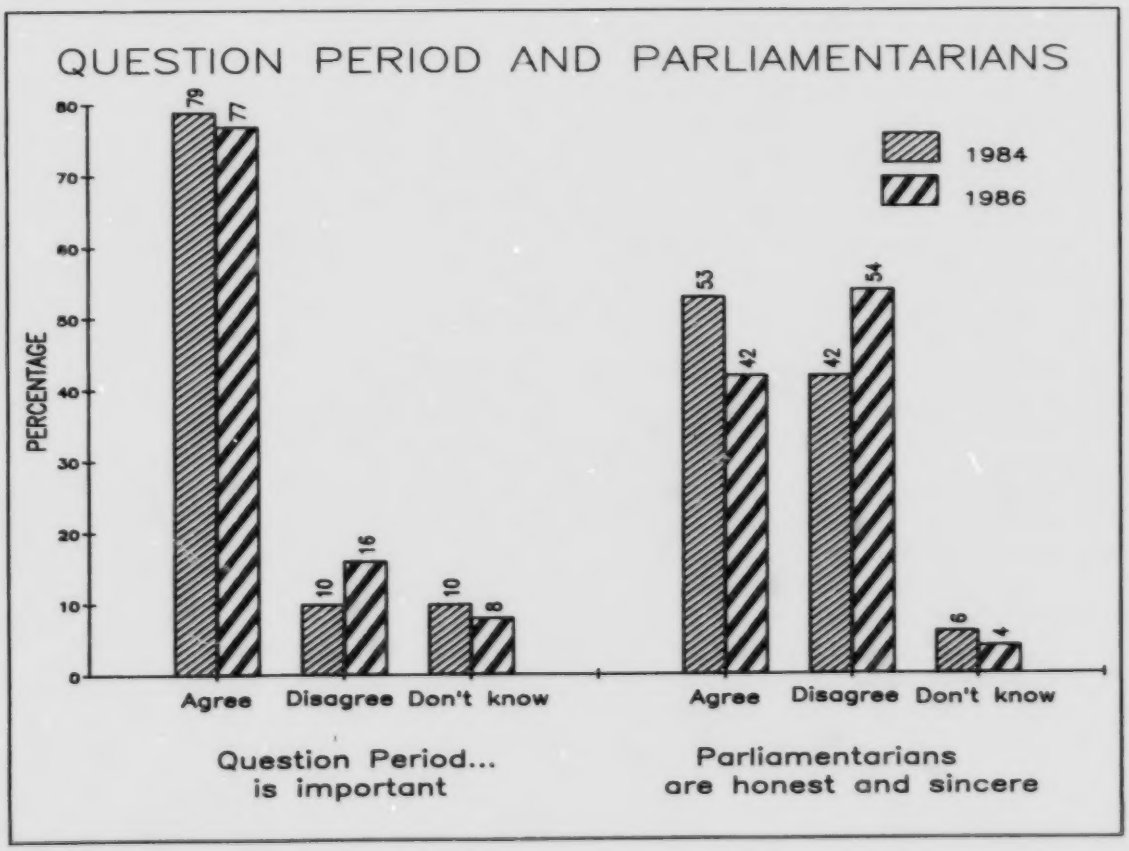
Our system is in need of reform


QUESTION PERIOD AND PARLIAMENTARIANS
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Question Period... is important
Parliamentarians are honest and sincere

sitting or to adjourn the House in cases of grave disorder";
—the creation of a Committee of Selection of Private Members' Business.

The Report also recommended allowing the televising of committee proceedings.

A new session of Parliament began in October, 1986. With a new Speaker, two new House Leaders, and the implementation of many of the McGrath Report recommendations eight months earlier, many hoped that the 33rd Session would be a fresh start.

Environics' current survey was conducted after John Bosley's September 5, 1986 resignation, but before the October opening of the new session. Findings are based on in-home personal interviews with a modified probability sample of 2,039 adults undertaken between September 24 and October 15, 1986: 269 in Atlantic Canada, 603 in Québec, 503 in Ontario and 667 in Western Canada. Simple probability samples of this size are estimated to be accurate within a margin of plus or minus 2 percentage points, in 19 samples out of 20. The margins of error are slightly wider for this sample and for the regional and demographic data. Respondents were asked a series of thirteen questions.

1986 Survey Overview

The results of our survey are as follows:

Opinion is split on whether or not our system of government is the best in the world. Half of all Canadians now feel it is, a five point increase in two years. On the other hand, most Canadians continue to agree that our parliamentary system is in need of major reform.

Only half of those interviewed feel that the interests of their province are well represented in Ottawa, a proportion that is even lower in Atlantic Canada, Alberta and British Columbia. Only two in ten Canadians consider it advantageous to elect the same party to power in provincial and federal politics while three in ten prefer the checks and balances of governments with differing political allegiances. No clear consensus is evident on which level of government best represents the public's interest; however, the Federal Government trails the two junior levels in this regard.

Despite increasing support for the Canadian system of government, Canadians' opinions of their politicians have soured significantly in the past two years. Today, only four out of ten Canadians consider their representatives to be honest and sincere, down nine points from 1984.

Three-quarters of all Canadians continue to feel that Question Period is an important part of the political process. A similar proportion also favour the televising of parliamentary debates and Question Period at both the federal and provincial levels. Thirteen percent are regular viewers of the live or taped versions of the proceedings, while 46% regularly see taped highlights on news broadcast.

For one-third of Canadians, seeing their parliamentarians on television has led to increased interest in government, but it has also led to a loss of respect for and confidence in their elected representatives.

Detailed Analysis

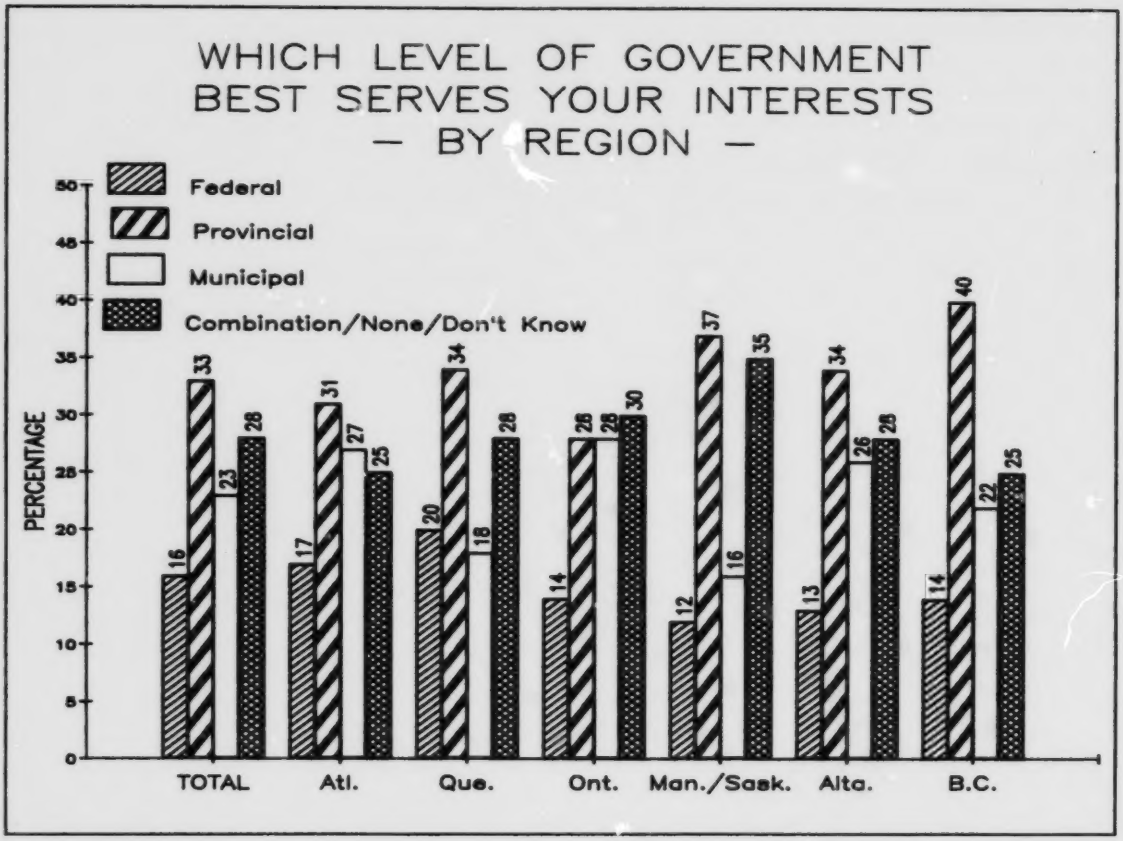
Our System of Government

Half of those questioned in September 1986 (51%) agree that our system of government is the best in the world. However 42% disagree and 6% are undecided. Positive responses are up five points from two years earlier, when 46% agreed with the statement. Now as then, Quebecers (52%), French-speaking Canadians (58%) and those under 30 (53%) are most likely to disagree.

Three-quarters of all Canadians (75%) are convinced that "the Canadian parliamentary system is in need of major reform". Only 16% do not share this opinion. Since 1984, the desire for reform has gained two points. Albertans and French-speaking Canadians are the most likely to want reform (83% and 81% respectively), while Torontonians are most likely to believe that no reform is needed (23%).

Equitable Representation

Just over half (54%) of those interviewed feel that the interests of their province are well represented in Ottawa, while 38% express the


WHICH LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT
BEST SERVES YOUR INTERESTS
— BY REGION —
Federal
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Municipal
Combination/None/Don't Know
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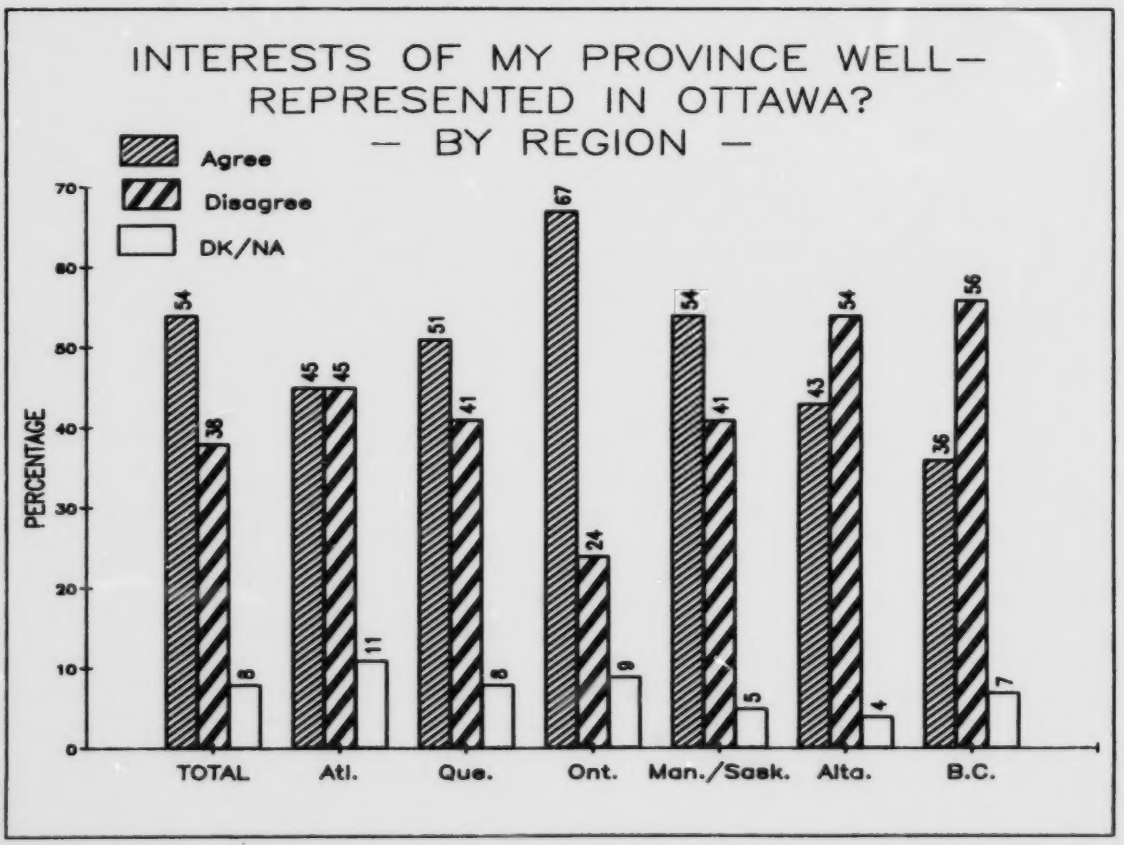
INTERESTS OF MY PROVINCE WELL—
REPRESENTED IN OTTAWA?
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TOTAL
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opposite view. Ontarians (67%), particularly those from Toronto (71%), are most likely to feel well represented while those in Atlantic Canada, Alberta and British Columbia are most likely to feel under-represented (45%, 54% and 56% respectively).

The sense of alienation from Ottawa felt by the majority of Albertans and British Columbians is noteworthy considering the fact that for the first time in two decades the West has substantial representation in the Cabinet of the Federal Government.

Some have suggested that the interests of individual provinces are better defended if the same party is in power in both Ottawa and the provincial legislature. Only two Canadians in ten (20%) actually share this opinion, although the proportion rises in the traditionally "have-not" provinces: Manitoba and Saskatchewan (28%) and in the Atlantic Provinces (30%), presumably on the assumption that party colleagues in Ottawa will be more receptive to requests for economic assistance than political opponents.

Overall, three in ten (29%) Canadians believe it is advantageous to have provincial and federal governments formed by *different* political parties. Ontarians, living in Canada's most prosperous province, are the most likely (34%) to feel their interests are best served by different parties in power in Ottawa and in Queen's Park. Less dependent on Ottawa, many Ontarians apparently prefer the checks and balances provided by such a situation. By far the largest proportion (48%), however, think that the political allegiance of the parties in power makes no difference. This sentiment is most widespread in Alberta (57%) and among the university-educated (55%).

Opinion is divided on the level of government that best represents the public's interests. The largest proportion (33%) say they feel closer to their provincial government, while just under one-quarter (23%) believe their municipal government represents them best. Only 16% identify with the Federal Government.

Regional analysis reveals that British Columbians have the most faith in their provincial government (40%) and Ontarians express the highest level of confidence in their municipal councils (28%). Quebecers (20%) are more likely than other Canadians to believe that the Federal Government best looks after their needs although, as elsewhere, the plurality looks to the province first.

Question Period and the Credibility of Parliamentarians

Over three-quarters (77%) of those questioned consider Question Period to be an important part of the political process. This represents an insignificant two point drop over the past two years. Only 16% now suggest that Question Period is not important. This consensus continues to hold across all regional and demographic segments.

The most startling shift in public opinion over the past two years is found in the evaluation of the honesty and sincerity of federal and provincial Members of Parliament. Only 42% of Canadians feel their legislators merit these adjectives today, a nine point drop from September 1984. On the other hand, 54% now believe most Members are less than honest and sincere, up twelve points in the past two years.

Demographically, confidence in parliamentarians by the electorate increases with age, income and education.

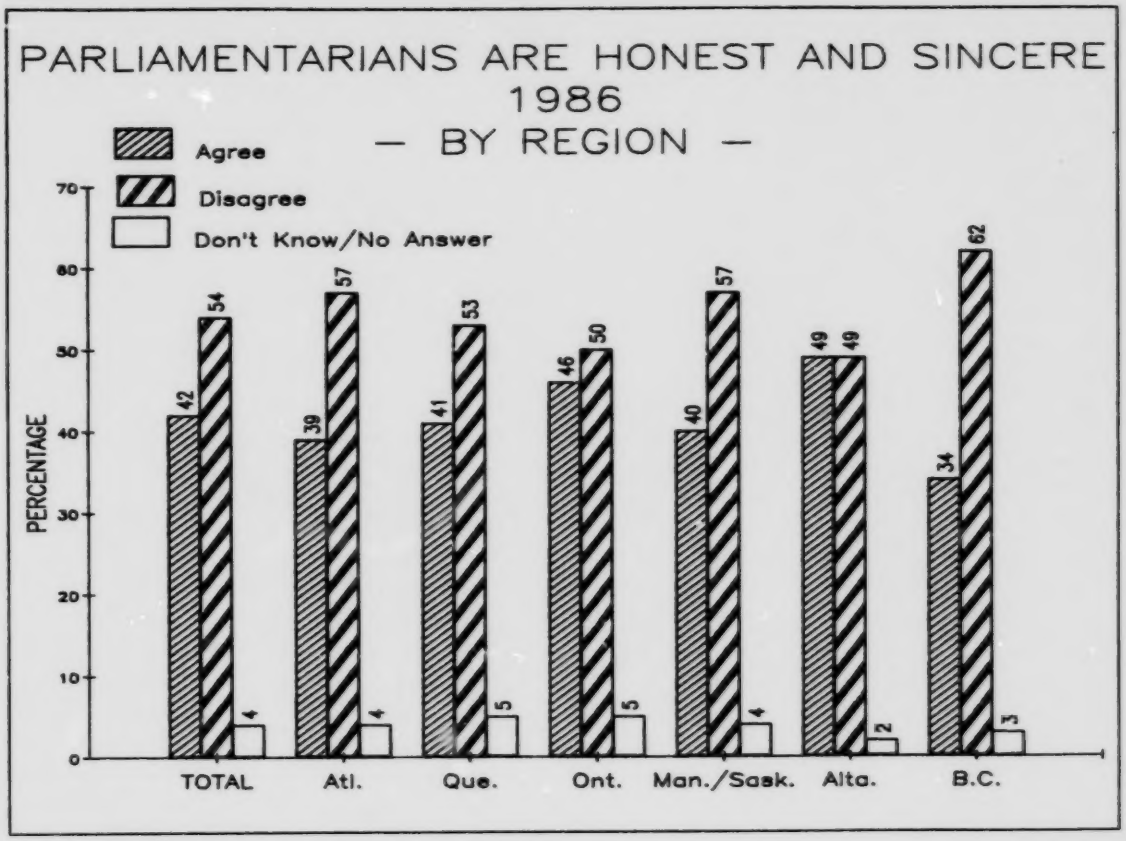
The level of cynicism on the part of Canada's youth is alarming: 60% of those aged 18 to 29 do not have faith in the honesty and sincerity of their parliamentary representatives. Only among the elderly is there a majority who trust most elected officials.

On a regional basis, confidence in the honesty and sincerity of legislators is highest in Ontario (51%) and Alberta (49%), and lowest in British Columbia (34%).

It should be noted that at the time of interviewing, the country was witnessing a protracted judicial inquiry into possible conflicts of interest on the part of former federal Industry Minister Sinclair Stevens while similar controversies were simmering at the provincial level in Nova Scotia, Ontario and Manitoba.

Television in Parliament and the Legislatures

Three-quarters of all Canadians favour the televising of parliamentary debates and Ques-


PARLIAMENTARIANS ARE HONEST AND SINCERE
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— BY REGION —
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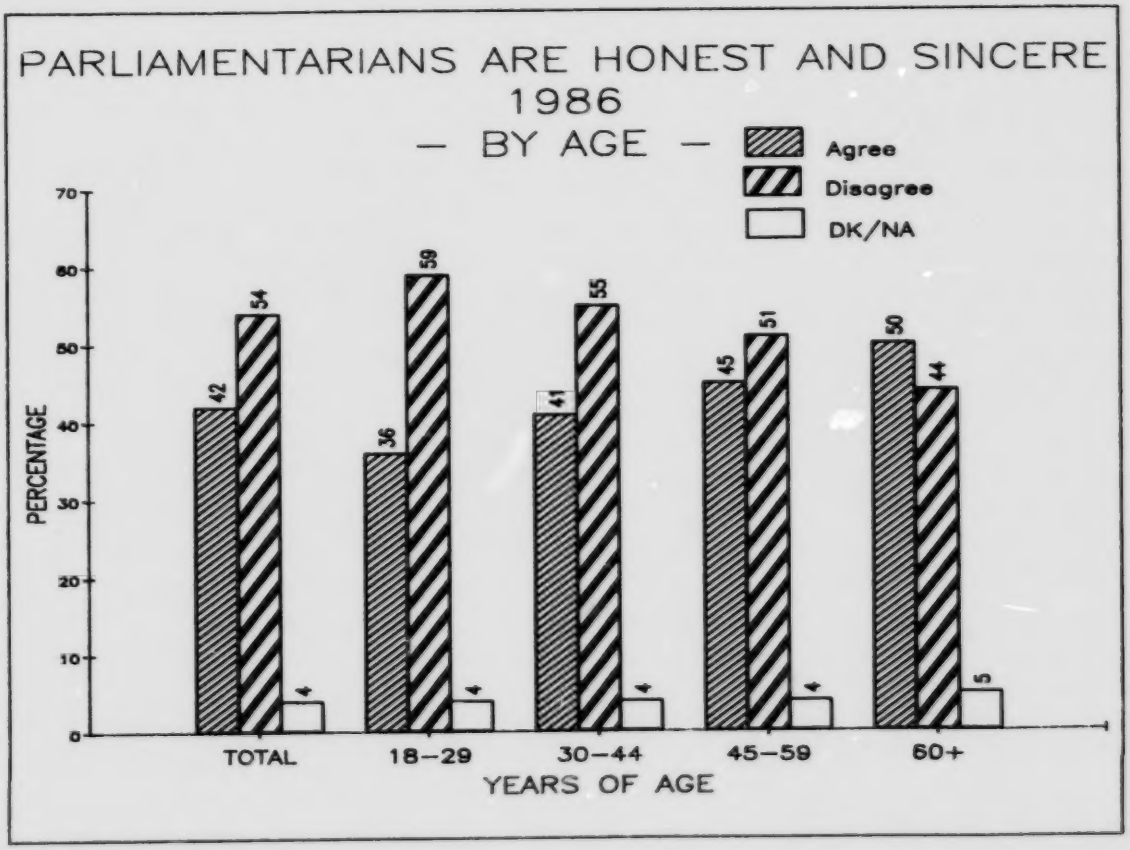
PARLIAMENTARIANS ARE HONEST AND SINCERE
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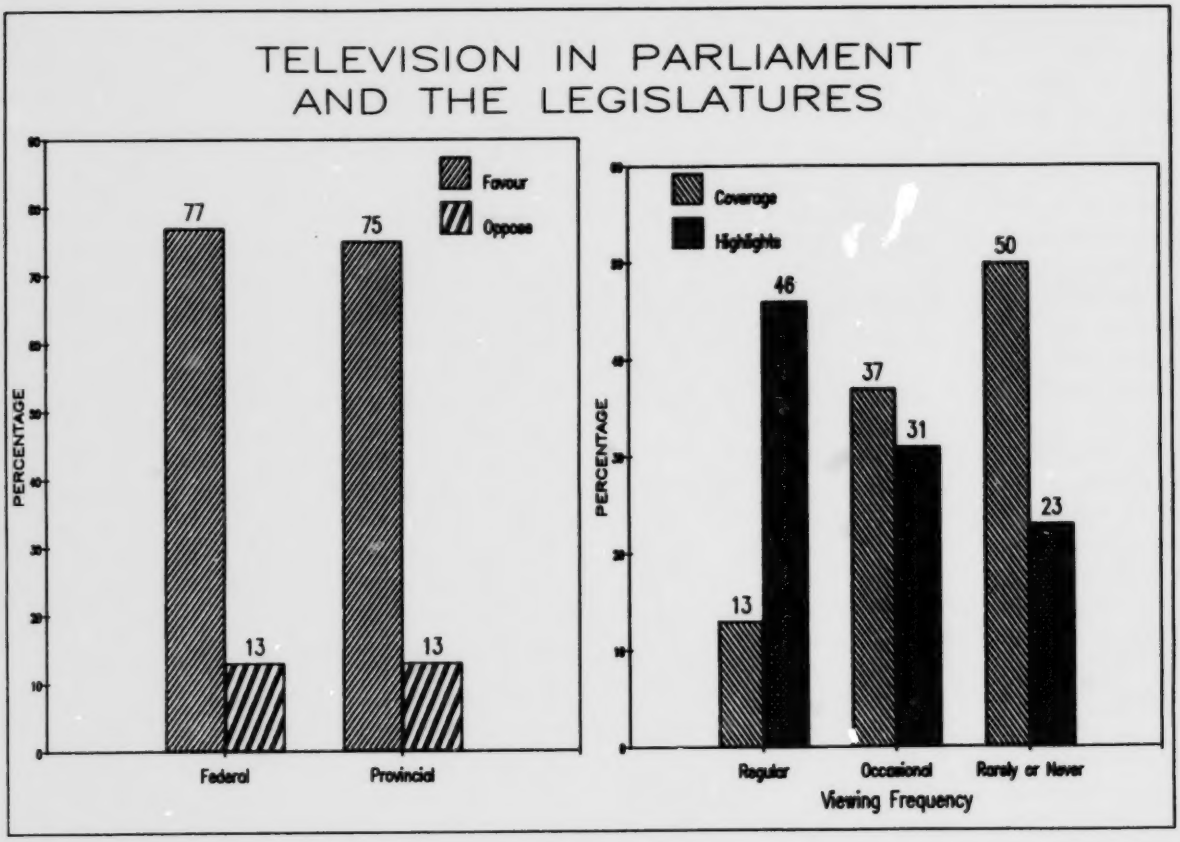
YEARS OF AGE



tion Period in both the Federal Parliament (77%) and in provincial legislatures (75%). Only 13% are opposed in each case. Support for television is actually highest in Québec (81%).

Three percent of all Canadians watch live or taped coverage of the House of Commons debates or Question Period on television almost every day. Another 10% watch at least once a week. Four in ten (37%) are occasional viewers, while 50% rarely or never tune in. Regular viewers (those who watch at least once a week) are most common among people who have immigrated to Canada from Europe (25%), and those aged 60 and over (20%).

Taped highlights of debates and Question Period on news broadcasts reach three Canadians in ten (29%) almost every day. Another 17% tune in at least once a week (meaning that 46% are regular viewers), while 31% are occasional viewers. Only 23% rarely or never watch these highlights. Regular viewers are most frequently found among those aged 60 and over (55%), the university educated (62%), and residents of British Columbia (54%), and Alberta (56%).

The Effects of Television in the House

Television coverage of debates and Question Period appears to have been a mixed blessing for the Canadian parliamentary system. Three Canadians in ten (28%) feel such broadcasts have ***increased their interest*** in government, however over one-third (36%) say that television has resulted in a loss of their respect for and confidence in *Members of Parliament*. Majorities of respondents however, feel that television has had no effect on either their

interest in (57%) or respect for (51%) the legislative institutions and their Members.

While three in ten Canadians report that their interest in government has increased since television was first allowed into parliament, and almost six in ten insist that television has had no effect, 12% say that the broadcast of proceedings has actually decreased their interest.

Similarly, while over one-third have lost respect for legislators once they appear on television, and half have had no reaction, one in ten (10%) have actually experienced an increase in respect for their representatives.

Regional analysis reveals that Albertans are the most likely to have lost interest in government (19%) and to have lost respect for their representatives (57%) thanks to televised debates. Quebecers on the other hand, are most likely to have experienced no reaction (63%).

Conclusion

The Canadian public continues to be receptive to the reform of our legislative institutions. They like Question Period and appreciate having access to its proceedings on television. However, while the confrontational theatre that they witnessed has increased their interest in government, what they see has led them to lose respect for and confidence in their elected representatives.

Recommendations contained in the McGrath Report, that television be allowed into committee meetings where much of the business of Parliament takes place, may diffuse some of the attention focused on Question Period. However, if public reaction to Question Period is any guide, whereas this widening window on parliament may be appreciated by Canadians, it may not enhance the public's confidence in our parliamentarians.

WITHOUT A DOUBT OUR LEGISLATURES ARE SUCCEEDING

BY GRAHAM WHITE

That legislatures must succeed is axiomatic. They are our principal representative bodies, the very key to our form of democracy. Particularly given the scope of activity and the complexity of modern governments, it is more important now than ever that our legislatures succeed. And yet so much commentary about Canadian legislatures, from academics, journalists and from parliamentarians themselves, is overwhelmingly negative. Frequent reference is made to the "decline of parliament", the failure of our legislative institutions, their irrelevance and so on.

Without for a moment denying that Canada's legislatures suffer many shortcomings and are in need of reform, I want to suggest that they are far more successful than many observers admit. The recent spate of far-reaching reforms, such as those adopted by the House of Commons, the Québec National Assembly and the Ontario Legislature, are certainly positive signs. More fundamentally, though, judgments as to the success or failure of an institution imply a set of (often unspoken) criteria and, in my view, harsh assessments of the effectiveness of our legislatures are often premised on unrealistic expectations, inappropriate standards, or misunderstanding of our parliamentary system.

To put it another way, what can we reasonably expect of our legislatures? What is the ideal against which we compare them? When critics measure our legislatures and find them lacking, they often have in mind the United States Congress or its state legislatures or a too ill-defined notion of some past "golden age of parliament". The congressional comparison is certainly legitimate though, as Austin Ranney observed in the 1985 edition of *Canadian Legislatures*, the very bases of the two systems continue to differ fundamentally. It is rather less reasonable to hold up as an ideal some possibly mythic bygone era, before parliament fell into decline. This image of parliamentary vitality reflects a few decades in nineteenth century Britain when Parliament, and the large number of independent-minded MPs who sat in it, did indeed exercise tremendous power over both the government of the day and its policies. Yet this was an era of very limited government, before the rise of disciplined political parties and before more than a small minority of the population had the vote—hardly a valid basis for a reasonable evaluation of Canadian legislatures in the late twentieth century.

The Task of Legislatures

What then are we to reasonably expect our legislative institutions to do effectively? They should represent the interests and the viewpoints of the people of Canada; they should scrutinize government activity and hold government accountable; they should provide the government with a reasonable opportunity to put into place a coherent legislative program; they should provide a forum for the public debate of the great issues of the day; and they should contribute to the development of new ideas to improve public policy.

Before examining each of these in turn, notice that they entail little expectation that our legislatures should make the laws except in a strictly formal sense. Westminster-style parliaments are not, by and large, law-making bodies; rather they approve, amend and reject government proposals for laws. To be sure, many would see this general lack of law-mak-

ing as a terrible shortcoming, particularly by contrast with legislatures on the congressional model. It must be understood, however, that this is such a fundamental tenet of our system of government that altering it in a substantial way would entail establishing an entirely different form of government. Calls for institutional restructuring of such magnitude are not to be made lightly. Nor, in a country which took decades to agree on an amending formula for its constitution, are they made with much prospect of success.

A Forum for Debate

Over a century ago John Stuart Mill argued that parliament must be "an arena in which not only the general opinion of the nation, but that of every section of it, can produce itself in full light and challenge discussion".

Unquestionably, one of the strong points of our legislatures is this very capacity to serve as a forum for the debate of the great issues of the day. Whatever its shortcomings in other respects, the adversary principle underlying the Westminster model strongly promotes the clash of ideas, forcing our political parties to clarify and to defend their policies and encouraging them to mobilize public opinion in support of their positions. This process has the further benefit of educating the public on important issues of public policy.

No legislature can hope to mount comprehensive debates on the full range of significant policy matters, nor could any citizenry be expected to pay attention to all such discussions. Still, on issues which one party or another has decided to emphasize (typically in response to their readings of public opinion), the public can look to its legislatures for a full-scale airing of the pros and cons.

The Mulroney Government's stance on universality of social welfare programs, the British Columbia Government's austerity drive, the separate school issue in Ontario and a wide range of fundamental questions about the nature and direction of Québec society are only a few of the great issues on which our legislatures have successfully promoted and sustained important public debate on basic principles of governance. The Ontario separate school illustration is a good one, for here is a case where all three major parties agreed on the principles, and yet the extensive legislative committee hearings on the matter generated a vast range of contrary opinion and brought the issue to continuous public attention.

The parliamentary uproar over the Federal Government's sale of the deHavilland Corporation is another apt example. Through adroit use of Question Period and the committee system, the Opposition managed to bring to public attention, in very forceful terms, their criticisms of the Government's proposed course of action. They were unable to block the sale, but they did succeed in making the country aware of the impending sale and its implications, and in giving the public a clear opportunity for judging the actions of the government and the alternatives proposed by other parties. Parliament thus initiated an intense, if short-lived, public debate on the merits of selling off crown corporations, which will doubtless influence future government policy. This is no mean accomplishment. It is worth adding that if Canada seems lacking in public debates based on clearly set out ideological principles, the fault can be more properly attributed to our political parties than to our legislatures.

Representation

The representational role of Canada's legislatures has several facets. Members publicize and bring to the attention of policy-makers the opinions and demands of their constituents. To say that Members ensure that their ridings' concerns and interests are heard is of course not to say that these views are accepted or acted upon, but no legislative set-up can guarantee this.

In terms of representation Members do more than act as conduits for their electors' views; they also act on behalf of constituents who come to them with all manner of problems (mostly, but not entirely, related to government). This sort of activity is sometimes denigrated as a "glorified social worker" function but, given the astonishing complexity of government and its significance in our everyday lives, it is crucial that people have someone to whom they can turn for advice and

assistance in dealing with government. Perhaps the best indicator of the success of this form of parliamentary representation is the fact that, although nine of ten provinces have Ombudsmen specifically empowered to investigate and rectify citizens' grievances, all provincial Members continue to be flooded with requests for help.

Groups and individuals are increasingly participating in public hearings conducted by parliamentary committees and this too is an important means by which legislatures perform their representational role. In Canada's larger Houses, most significant or controversial bills are routinely sent to committee to hear deputations from the public, and extensive pre-legislative public hearings on a vast range of subjects are common in most Canadian legislatures. This process often sees parliamentarians travelling widely to give people and organizations the opportunity to present their views personally on important policy issues.

The heightened use of public hearings by legislative committees is of more than symbolic importance. This is evidenced by the seriousness with which interest groups and lobbyists prepare their submissions and the attention they pay to the activities of parliamentary committees. Gone are the days when an experienced lobbyist could say "when I see someone lobbying MPs I know he's lost". Without question, governments often reject arguments raised by citizens and by interest groups during public hearings, but they are under substantial political pressure to publicly justify their policies.

A final point about representation. One of the less appealing characteristics of Canadian legislatures is the frequently much higher ratio of government to opposition Members than is warranted by the distribution of votes. The lopsided majorities in the current House of Commons and in recent Alberta legislatures are obvious examples, but it is common for parties with barely more than 40% of the popular vote to enjoy comfortable legislative majorities. This is not the place to debate the merits of proportional representation or similar schemes; what should be recognized, however, is that the undeniable problems and inequities which arise from disproportionately large numbers of government Members are not the fault of the legislatures but of our electoral system.

Passing Legislation

When governments become interested in parliamentary reform their thoughts frequently turn to ways in which they can ensure swifter, surer passage of their legislative programs. This is a good indication that, even in majority settings, governments are by no means assured of passing all their legislation. Certainly they have the numbers and the procedural devices to guarantee passage of the bills to which they give top priority, and to defeat all opposition attempts to amend them. Yet even if the opposition loses every vote, it has weapons available to it—delay, the ability to mobilize public opinion, and the opportunity to embarrass the government publicly—which can prevent the government from implementing more than a certain proportion of its legislative plans.

The time pressures in our legislatures and the myriad problems requiring legislative solutions mean that government bills often die on the order paper for lack of time. Equally significant are all the proposals for legislation and draft bills which never even make it to first reading because the parliamentary agenda is already too full with higher priority business. Demystifying the "confidence convention", as has been done in Ottawa through the work of the McGrath Committee and in Ontario through the Liberal-NDP "Accord", should further remove inhibitions about defeating government legislation. The widespread myth that any defeat requires the government to resign has served governments well.

Different people will doubtless have opposing views on whether governments are hamstrung by inefficient, obstructionist legislative processes, or whether they get altogether too easy a ride, with guaranteed passage of their top priority bills. The larger point, though, is that our legislatures have struck a balance between allowing governments free rein in securing passage of any legislation they want and denying governments any prospect of putting in place a coherent legislative program.

Scrutiny and Accountability

In his 1979 position paper, The Reform of Parliament, the late Walter Baker noted that in our system, while parliament "should not govern, it should poke and pry without hindrance into the activities of those who do". Our legislatures hold governments up to public scrutiny primarily in two ways—through Question Period and through committee work.

Few Members approach Question Period with such noble motivation as the fostering of government accountability; rather, they are seeking to score political points by demonstrating the government's incompetence, duplicity and wrong-headedness. Yet, the result tends to be a very strong dose of accountability: governments have to answer criticisms publicly and effectively or risk the political consequences. Ministers' reputations—and those of opposition critics as well—continue to be made and unmade during Question Period. The press is watching and thanks to the spread of television coverage, so too are increasing numbers of the public.

To be sure, Question Period can degenerate into mindless exchanges of partisan insults, but for the most part the focus is on the government explaining and defending its policies against its political opponents in the most public forum imaginable. The review by committees, such as the Public Accounts Committee, of government activities is not so public (though it can become so), but it can come to grips with details and complexities in a way that Question Period cannot.

Two important developments over the past few years have greatly improved committees' effectiveness in scrutinizing governments' policies and administration. First, committees have acquired professionl staff to carry out extensive research and follow-up, so they are no longer toothless tigers. Secondly, only a few years ago most committees required the approval of the government before they could embark on any kind of inquiry; to say the least, this sharply inhibited their effectiveness.

New rules operating in Québec City, Ottawa and Toronto now permit, indeed encourage, committees to mount inquiries into any matter which they believe warrants it. This new-found independence is not primarily directed towards corruption or malfeasance, but to the principles and details of government policy. An important corollary of the new style of committee inquiries is the fact that they bring out into public scrutiny the decisions and the influence of public servants as well as of ministers.

Even with staff assistance and open mandates, it may often seem that committees can do little more than scratch the surface of the government megalith; that, as in Question Period, the government can get away with evasive and inadequate answers. This is certainly true, but it overlooks a fundamentally important feature of parliamentary questions and committee inquiries: their unpredictability and the uncertainty of their outcome.

Thus government strategy and policy development must be premised not on the presumption that the vast majority of decisions or policies will receive little or no attention in Question Period or in committee, but on the ever-present possibility that it could become subject to far-reaching, intensive scrutiny in a very public forum. Simply by the threat they pose of embarrassment and bad publicity, our legislatures affect government decision-making in unseen but important ways.

Policy Development

One of the paradoxes of the parliamentary system is that most of the important stages of policy development are pre-parliamentary. Ideas for policy arise, are refined and are pretty much settled in the bureaucracy and in cabinet before they are even brought into the legislature. Even here, though, our legislatures do have a role to play; moreover, it is an increasing role. Clearly, some policies are developed or altered by government in response to public opinion as filtered through and mobilized by Members. This may occur in the secrecy of the government caucus or it may be as a result of sustained pressure from the opposition in Question Period. Changes in the collection practices of Revenue Canada at the end of the Trudeau administration are a case in point.

Improved staff and open mandates have resulted in significant contributions by com-

mittees to the policy development process. Important government measures to combat family violence, both in Ottawa and at Queen's Park, owe their existence in large measure to the work of legislative committees. Other fields in which major policy initiatives can be traced to ideas put forward in committee reports include immigration policy, government treatment of the handicapped, penal reform and company law. As these illustrations suggest, in issues on which the parties have not yet adopted a hard and fast position or which are essentially non-partisan, legislative committees can initiate policy proposals with a genuine prospect of their being implemented.

Even the much-maligned Private Members' bill can serve as a means of bringing new ideas forward from individual Members to the attention of the government. Particularly under the new procedures in Ottawa, where a certain number of such bills must come to a vote, and in the Ontario Legislature which has operated under similar rules for some years, Private Members' bills and resolutions can serve as a powerful spur for the government to adopt a new idea. At a minimum, if a government is unwilling to accept a proposal brought before the House in this way, it does have to put on the public record its reasons for rejecting it.

Problems for Resolution

In attempting to provide an antidote to the all-too-common negativism about Canadian legislatures, this analysis has paid little attention to their problems. Without question, they are numerous and they are severe. To cite but a few, Members allow the party managers far too much authority over their actions; the committee systems of several of our smaller Houses are rudimentary and ineffective; no Canadian legislature comes close to an adequate treatment of the vast outpouring of government regulations and other delegated legislation; and legislative scrutiny of proposed government spending is meager and largely ineffective.

The burden of this essay has not been to discount such problems, but to argue that all institutions are far removed from the ideal (consider how our universities and news media stack up against their ideals), and that if we consider what we may reasonably expect our legislatures to do, their performance is not all that bad. Moreover, unlike a great many other institutions, their record has improved significantly in recent years. Not the least of the reasons for this heightened effectiveness have been two trends documented in successive editions of this book: the expanded services available to Members and the higher caliber of Members, as measured by their education and their willingness to treat their calling as a full-time occupation.

By no means should we lose sight of the manifold problems besetting Canada's legislatures, but neither should we overlook the important strengths they possess. Provided we are not unrealistic in our expectations, we have good grounds for believing that our legislatures are succeeding.

Dr. Graham White teaches political science at the University of Toronto and was a committee clerk with the Ontario Legislature.

The Role of Canadian Women in Federal and Provincial Politics

An Analysis

BY MARILYN DOMAGALSKI

Women constitute more than one-half of the population yet continue to be vastly under-represented in both the Federal Parliament and provincial legislatures. Most Canadian women gained the formal right to hold office at the federal level in 1921, while in the provinces the extension of this right has varied. In the western provinces, for example, women received the right to participate in provincial elections well before they could participate in federal elections. In contrast, women did not get the right to vote and hold office in New Brunswick until 1934 and as late as 1940 in Québec.

However, in spite of the fact that women have had a formal opportunity to seek electoral office for more than half a century, the general pattern is that few women seek power and even fewer are successfully elected. This article examines the extent of female involvement in Canadian politics and surveys some of the existing literature on the subject in an attempt to determine the reasons for women's limited success. Concluding observations and suggestions are made to better integrate the female population into the political and legislative system.

At the federal level, between 1921 and 1984 only 65 women were elected to parliament. In 1921 Agnes Macphail was the first woman elected to the House of Commons. Elected as a Member of the Progressive Party and as a representative of the United Farmers of Ontario, she was the only woman in the House of Commons for fourteen years. Only ten more women were elected before 1960. As indicated in Table 1, between 1921 and 1968 women comprised only 2.4% of all candidates for federal office and less than one percent of those elected.

It has only been in the last twelve years that the percentage of women candidates and federally elected Members has appreciably increased. The proportion of women sitting in the House of Commons has grown from 1.8% in 1972 to 9.6% in 1984. In 1984 female participation in federal elections reached a high of 15% of candidates and 10% of all those elected were women. There are now 28 female Members in the House of Commons. Moreover, six women were appointed to the first Cabinet formed by the new Conservative Government, the Cabinet being the apex of political power and policy-making in Canada. However, this does not mean we should be overly optimistic in interpreting this progress as an irresistible wave of the future. Indeed, before the 1984 election the historic rate of increase in the number of women was so low that it would be well into the next century before half of the Members were women.

Table 1 WOMEN CANDIDATES IN CANADIAN GENERAL ELECTIONS AND FEMALE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL

Election(s)	*Female Candidates*	*Elected MPs*
1921-67	2.4%	0.8%
1968	3.5%	0.4%
1972	6.4%	1.8%
1974	9.4%	3.4%
1979	13.8%	3.6%
1980	14.4%	5.7%
1984	14.5%	9.9%

Source: Reports of the Chief Electoral Offices of Canada.

Table 2 NUMBER OF WOMEN ELECTED IN PROVINCIAL POLITICS 1950-1986

Province	*Women Elected 1950–1986*
British Columbia	18
Alberta	22
Saskatchewan	10
Manitoba	16
Ontario	16
Québec	30
New Brunswick	7
Nova Scotia	5
Prince Edward Island	6
Newfoundland	2
Total	132

Table 3 REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES, 1986

British Columbia	7 (10.2%)
Alberta	10 (11.9%)
Saskatchewan	5 (7.8%)
Manitoba	8 (14.0%)
Ontario	9 (7.2%)
Québec	18 (14.8%)
New Brunswick	3 (6.9%)
Nova Scotia	3 (5.7%)
Prince Edward Island	3 (9.3%)
Newfoundland	1 (5.8%)
Yukon	3 (18.7%)
Northwest Territories	3 (12.1%)

Canadian women have had greater electoral success at the provincial level. Between 1920 and 1986, 155 women became provincial legislators. Of this total, 88 or approximately 60% have been elected in the last ten years.

In some provinces, the election of women has been a fairly recent phenomenon. While all the western provinces had elected at least one woman by 1920, a woman was not elected in Ontario until 1943, in Québec until 1961, and until as recently as 1970 in Prince Edward Island.

On a per capita basis more women have been elected in the western provinces. British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba have always elected women to their legislatures and their numbers have increased. In contrast, only five women were elected in Ontario prior to 1975 and only three in Québec. In Québec however, particularly during the last two elections, the number of women elected to the National Assembly is the highest of any provincial legislature in Canada, with a record 18 women elected in the 1985 election. In the Atlantic provinces, however, only two women were elected in each province prior to 1975, and this number has only increased nominally in the last decade. In general, with the exception of Québec, as one moves from west to east the number of female Members decreases.

Why the western provinces traditionally should elect more women legislators is not immediately clear. Various studies suggest that these provinces entered Confederation later and their legislatures have been less formalized and entrenched than some of their eastern counterparts, especially Ontario and Québec. This perhaps allowed easier access for women. In contrast, women in the older provinces experienced more difficulty penetrating entrenched party organizations. In the Maritimes, it is suggested that the local "father to son" flavor of recruitment may have presented an obstacle for women aspiring to political office.

Table 4 compares the representation of women in the national legislatures of twelve selected countries. Women have the highest representation in the Nordic countries of Sweden, Finland, Norway and Denmark, and currently occupy approximately 30% of the seats in their national legislatures. Various studies suggest that the reason for this high success rate is that these countries have electoral systems based on proportional representation. However, the key success factor is that the Nordic political parties have done more to ensure the political promotion of women than other liberal democracies. Throughout the late sixties and seventies, numerous women's associations intensively lobbied all of the political parties to train, select and promote women candidates. Women's leagues in the parties became an important source of pressure on parties and currently are an important political training ground for women.

In the U.S.S.R. and other Eastern Bloc and socialist countries, women comprise approximately one-third of their national legislatures.

Table 4 REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN NATIONAL LEGISLATURES

Country		*Proportion, Female Legislators*	
		1975	*1986*
1.	Finland	23.0%	30.5%
2.	Sweden	21.5%	28.9%
3.	Norway	15.5%	15.5%
4.	Denmark	15.7%	25.7%
5.	Switzerland	6.2%	10.2%
6.	West Germany	5.8%	9.8%
7.	France	1.8%	4.4%
8.	United Kingdom	4.3%	3.6%
9.	Canada	3.3%	9.9%
10.	United States	3.4%	4.5%
11.	U.S.S.R.	31.3%	32.8%
12.	China	22.7%	21.2%

Source: International Centre for Parliamentary Documentation, Distribution of Seats by Sex in Parliamentary Assemblies (Geneva 1985).

Sexual equality has been officially at least a party goal in each of the state socialist systems since their establishment. However, the impressive levels of representation that women obtain in national legislatures is not backed up by a similar presence in the party central committee structure, the apex of political power. In the U.S.S.R. there were no women in the 75 positions which constituted the Soviet Government in 1981, and no women in the politbureau. This leads us to conclude, that if women fail to hold even a modest share of government posts it is because the party has decided that they should not.

In comparison to other Western European countries and the United States, Canada has a higher rate of female participation. In Britain, the first large western nation to elect a woman as Prime Minister, only three percent of the Members of the House of Commons are women. In the United States women comprise only five percent of the federal House of Representatives and only two percent of the Senate. However, the state legislatures averaged nine percent female Members in 1978 and this percentage increased to 13.3% female Members in 1983.

Although women's involvement as both candidates and legislators has generally increased over time in Western European and North American political systems, their percentage within national legislatures has, with the exception of the Scandinavian countries, remained less than ten percent through the 1980s.

In Canada, although the proportion of women candidates in federal elections has increased at a rapid rate from less than four percent in 1968 to approximately 15% in 1984, a close examination of the candidacy patterns of women who contested elections reveals that the increased number of women candidates actually reflects two trends, neither of which are conducive to electoral success.

First, the greatest increase in women candidates is among the ranks of independents or fringe party candidates. This trend can be traced back to the 1974 general election, when 75 of the 125 federal women candidates ran as independents or as Marxists-Leninists, Libertarians, Communists and other fringe party candidates. In the elections of 1979 and 1984, approximately two-thirds of the women candidates were independents or fringe party candidates and not one of these women was elected.

The second trend is that the mainstream political parties primarily nominate women is "lost cause" ridings. The major parties have shown a greater tendency to nominate women in the last decade, with the New Democratic Party recruiting almost twice as many women candidates as the Liberal and Conservative parties combined. This growth however, has not been as rapid as in the independent and fringe categories. The pervasive practice of these parties has been to recruit women in regions or constituencies where chances of winning are slight.

Professor Janine Brodie, in a study of women candidates, confirms the notion that female candidates are frequently the sacrificial lambs in Canadian elections. In the five election campaigns between 1950 and 1975, 146 female candidates were nominated. Of this total, 18 or approximately eight percent were nominated in constituencies where their party had won at least three of the previous five elections. In contrast, 90 of the candidates or approximately 60% were candidates in ridings where their party had not won the seat in the previous five elections.

Table 5 SUCCESS RATES AMONG FEMALE AND MALE CANDIDATES FOR FEDERAL OFFICE—1972–1984

Year	*% Of Females Elected*	*% Of Males Elected*
1972	7.6	25.6
1974	7.2	20.4
1979	5.1	22.1
1980	6.4	20.0
1984	12.8	20.6

Calculated from the reports of the Chief Electoral Office of Canada (1972-1984).

Although men also run as "lost cause" candidates, overall—they have a much greater chance to win a seat in parliament than women. As indicated in Table 5, in the federal elections from 1972 to 1984, approximately one out of every four male candidates has been elected. In contrast, less than one in ten of their female counterparts was successful.

In Canada, parties vary radically in strength from one constituency to another and especially from one region to another, and as a result some nominations are significantly more desirable than others because they promise greater chances for electoral victory. For example, a Conservative nomination in Alberta and, until 1984, a federal Liberal nomination in Québec, virtually ensured the candidate success, even before election day.

However, successful female candidates concur that winning the nomination is often a more formidable hurdle than winning the election. Party nominations are strongly controlled by the party establishment which can act as either a bridge or a barrier to those who aspire to elected office. In particular, local constituency associations have a strong, although not exclusive, ability to select the party's candidate in a federal or provincial election. In 1970, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, confirmed this observation. Based on interviews with a number of women across the country, the Commission concluded that it was at the constituency level that women candidates are most often discouraged. It is also at this level that the belief a woman candidate will lose votes is most often encountered.

In Canada, the majority of women candidates seem to lack the most important recruitment opportunity leading to public office. This is the opportunity to contest seats where their party has a chance for victory. Therefore, gaining the nomination to a competitive riding is the key to increasing the number of women at the legislative level. However, getting the party's nomination in a seat that is seen to be winnable requires sizeable financial resources, and most women do not have the personal financial wealth that is required to successfully contest a nomination.

A recent task force established by the Ontario Conservative Party found finances to be a formidable obstacle for women entering politics. Because there are no spending limits or tax incentives, nomination races, especially at the federal level, require significant financial resources. Many women do not have the $5,000 to $10,000 required and some women have spent as much as $20,000 in unsuccessful nominations. The formidable barrier is that few females have the ability to tap the supportive financial network that males do.

What can be done to overcome these obstacles and increase female representation in Canadian legislatures? It seems the most immediate and effective way is for mainstream political parties to nominate women to "safe" seats. Political parties should adopt an affirmative action program and each riding should produce a membership list that proves it has searched exhaustively for a credible female candidate. As previously mentioned, women in the Nordic countries have lobbied their political parties extensively to increase the number of candidates on party nomination lists. Women support groups in Canada should target their efforts in a similar manner.

Organizations such as the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (an umbrella organization consisting of 170 Canadian women's groups) and the Group of 94 (an organization of influential professional women dedicated to helping women win half the 282 seats in the House of Commons by 1994), as well as the various women's caucuses of the mainstream political parties, should

mobilize their influential and sizeable memberships. Efforts should be directed to persuade the Liberals, the Conservatives and the NDP to nominate women to winnable ridings and work to reduce the financial barriers to contesting nominations. Unless the crucial link is drawn between organization, issue and party, significant advancements for women into the political arena are unlikely.

Marilyn Domalgalski is an associate consultant with The Coopers and Lybrand Consulting Group and a former Ontario Legislative Intern.

A Question of Question Period in the House of Commons

BY DOUGLAS FISHER

On February 24th, 1986 the Speaker, John Bosley, tried to resolve the problems he and the Members of Parliament were having with the oral Question Period by making a statement in the House. It was not a lucid or very definitive guide to either the MPs who do the questioning or a columnist querulous about the rising barbarity of this stage in proceedings.

Bosley said it had been 11 years since Speaker Jerome made such a statement and he emphasized the phrase that "at that time the House was not televised". He noted that "the traditional guidelines of Beauchesne's fifth edition"had been recently summarized in a "Précis of Procedure" and these had been issued to all Members from the Table Research Branch of the House.

If Bosley had announced that he was going to rule henceforth on the basis of the guidelines summarized in the précis, he might not have been brought to resigning the speakership seven months later. However, in any case he would have needed to endure some weeks of fire from those Opposition MPs already accustomed to using again and again almost every one of the questioning practices which tradition and Beauchesne said should not be allowed.

Instead of relying on the traditional guidelines, Bosley stated: "some of them remain valid, others have fallen into disuse as a result of the development of our practices. The House is the master of its own procedure and the Chair cannot enforce guidelines unless they conform to the will of the House".

This was an extraordinary reading of "the will of the House". It seemed to confirm that the Speaker agreed with the sometime chaos and the repeated personal nastiness exhibited towards the Ministry and, in particular, the Prime Minister during Question Period.

His position represented a victory in full for those in the Liberal Opposition, led by what colloquially has become known as "the Rat Pack".

Bosley admitted, however, that "if Question Period was to function well—seen to be meaningful—it must have some form. There must be some rules."

A Problem With Rules

On the one extreme, he said, were those who wanted strict observance of the old rules; at the other extreme, some felt anything should be allowed, the only limit coming from the observations and reactions of the public. Bosley said some (apparently MPs) even argued they should be able to say whatever they want, unparliamentary or not, during Question Period. The Members who went so far were not singled out. The fact that the Speaker lent credence to such silliness by even mentioning it was another indicator of confusion in the Chair, perhaps even at his "table" of advisors, although one wouldn't take that corollary from their recent product, the "précis".

Although he was giving free rein to the more brutally-minded and most partisan Members of the House with his statement, Bosley continued describing Question Period as belonging "to the Whole House".

"It would be practically impossible", said Bosley "to go completely backward to the rules which, for example, made it out of order to question Ministers about matters reported in the media, out of order to ask ministers about statements made outside the House, out of order to ask certain kinds of questions regard-

ing Government policy, nor would it make sense to do so, no matter what certain columnists might think."

At the time of this statement by Bosley one of "the certain columnists" thought that particular paragraph was a perfect illustration of his failure to understand the guidelines forged over many years, both here and at Westminster.

Then Bosley made a plea. Please behave because although Question Period is "often an intense time" it's also a reality that "the public in large numbers do watch". So be on your "best possible behaviour". "Heckling and political quips" said Bosley, "are part of our tradition; barracking and personal insults are not".

"There must be 'some urgency' in questions and they must not be purely hypothetical. Members should seek to avoid merely repeating questions that have already been asked."

Bosley closed with an appeal that "barracking" stop and to ask again that we "remember where we are".

It seemed useful to me in any discussion of the oral Question Period in the House of Commons to detail this agonized and almost irrational statement of principles and cautions from the Chair. Whatever may have been the particular incidents which moved John Bosley to resign it was central to his dilemma.

Probing the Dilemma

The questions I'd like to raise and address are these:

Was the dilemma Bosley faced in the oral Question Period a long time developing; that is, was he heir to a developed situation? Has the oral Question Period increased in political importance in recent years and, if so, when did this occur? What events or shifts in attitudes or technology brought the change?

I came into the House as an opposition MP (CCF) in 1957 and took a very active role as questioner before orders of the day were called over the next eight years. And after leaving politics for journalism I've been almost daily witness to the oral Question Period. But before I sketch the trends of the House from personal observation let me go further back.

A long quotation from The Unknown Country by Bruce Hutchison, written in 1943, sets the House in clear, kind terms. From checking old Hansards and talking to veteran Members whose memories reached back through Mackenzie King to the governments of R.B. Bennett (1930-1935) and Arthur Meighen, it appears this description of an institution set aside from immediacy and national examination of a close, regular kind is sound. This was not quite the way it was when I came to the Hill 15 years after Hutchison wrote (and the events that caused the change I'll take up later):

> "Three o'clock and Canadian democracy goes to work. Three o'clock and the last cabinet minister hurries over from the East Block with a worried look. Three o'clock and the Speaker of the Commons, in three-pointed hat, flowing robes and silk knee britches, parades in dismal procession down the marble corridor with his clerks, his Sergeant-at-Arms, gold mace on shoulder. Three o'clock and Mr. King, the Prime Minister, his battered red-leather brief case and its awful secrets clutched under his arm, trots into the House with a cautious, bobbing gait, as if he were walking on eggs. Three o'clock, the witching hour of Ottawa, and the chamber of gray stone and carved oak is hushed. The Speaker on his richly fretted throne awaits the Government's word and the long lines of Members at their desks lean forward expectantly. Three o'clock, question time in the House of Commons, when the people through their representatives, may ask the Government anything and generally get an answer."

A True and Clear Mirror

> "Today, perhaps, the Prime Minister, fitting his be-ribboned glasses over his nose, has nothing to say until he has considered the question. Perhaps he is ready to make an official statement... His colleagues are watching him, the Opposition is watching him, the back benches are watching him, hands cupped over their ears so as not to lose a word. The nation is watching him, and the press wires out to Vancouver and to

Halifax... have already started to tick. Three o'clock and the Government answers the people."

Now note how Hutchison shifts from absorbing, highly romantic description:

"This House of Commons is the true heart of Canada; it reflects every passing word, sensation, pleasure and pain in the vast, sprawling body of the nation, and articulates it within a few hours. Yet Parliament, on its green hill, lives strangely aloof, floating in a warm, comfortable vacuum. National politics is a craft apart, and its life is separated from the ordinary life of the nation and even of Ottawa, just outside its stone gates, by a gulf as wide as the sea. It is a separate and wondrous craft unknown to the layman, hidden from the ordinary citizen, who sees only the outward ripples, never the inward movement; a complicated and mysterious process utterly foreign to the life of the people, which it yet manages to reflect, in legislation and government, like a true and clear mirror.

"Canada never sees the solemn and historic drama of Westminster or the passion of the American political convention.... Where an American statesman can easily rouse a crowd of enthusiastic citizens, the Canadian audience usually sits in the country places and small towns with cold, haddock eyes, fixed grimly on the stranger. Parliament itself is rather stuffy—none of the free and easy conversation of the United States Senate, nor the gentleman's club atmosphere of Westminster, but far more attachment to rule of order and strict punctilio, and a deep aversion to anything as distressing as a "scene."... But if Parliament is not exciting, it is almost never disreputable. While they may quarrel in public, the Members generally have been on excellent terms."

Hutchison describes the era dominated by Mackenzie King as "a triumph of mediocrity—competent enough, wise enough, and safe enough, but mediocrity" and he believes "this blight of pale competence reflects accurately the baffled mood of the people in the age of disillusionment."

As one old enough to have cast my first vote for a Mackenzie King candidate in the general election of 1940, I sensed in those War years both the gulf between the MPs on the Hill and the rest of us and the stiffness and propriety of the parliamentary institutions. For example, I knew there was something called "Question Period" but I didn't know that it varied very much from day to day in length, and in the nature of questions asked, and in the participation of the senior, more prominent MPs of all four parties represented in the House.

A Look at History

It's clear to anyone going back through Hansard volumes of long ago that the oral Question Period then, as compared to the formalized verbal slug-fest of today, was unknown. Out of curiosity I took random volumes off the shelf for 1906, 1916, 1926, and 1936. In each of those years there'd be many days when the House did not have any oral questions at the beginning of the day. What's missing most of all from those years is any sense of urgency or immediacy in the daily period before "the orders of the day" were called. Even during the uproar over the refusal of the Governor General (Byng) to grant Prime Minister King a dissolution in 1926, one doesn't find the Question Period the focus of excitement. Rather, the focus then was on debates. The same scenario can be found in Hansard for the last days of the Bennett Government in the summer of 1935. Even though the massive march of the unemployed to Ottawa had been stopped in Regina, even though a policeman had been killed there and the militia had been called out, there wasn't much probing of the Government with questions. There were, on the other hand, some hard-hitting speeches from critical points of the political compass.

I emphasize the brevity and the lack of bite and acrimony in the Question Period of these decades as compared to the general debates because it stresses that Parliament until after the Second World War, and perhaps until the two great debates of 1955 and 1956 (over the Emergency Powers Act and over the Trans-

Canada Pipeline proposals), was a different type of arena. Sessions were much shorter than today. MPs had few travel perquisites to enable those who had to travel long distances to move back and forth to their ridings as they do today. MPs had little in the way of secretarial help, nothing in the modern sense of research help. They did not receive much correspondence or many phone calls from constituents. The caseloads on matters such as immigration, pensions and other elements of the welfare state were much lighter than today. Above all, a national web of radio and television wasn't yet formed and thus the intense, constant coverage of federal politics by the media didn't exist.

Everyone's Favorite Obsession

In 1957, on my first entry to the House, there were fewer than 80 Members in the parliamentary press gallery, none of them from radio or television. By the end of the Pearson years the numbers had passed 200, and by the end of the Trudeau years, 300. In 1957 there wasn't one syndicated columnist in print on the basis of more than one piece a week.

Between the mediocrity and calm depicted by Hutchison and the advent of the first Diefenbaker Government in 1957 came the major shifts which turned federal politics into everyone's favorite obsession. Which came first, the technology which brought politics into everyone's home with immediacy or the personalities and issues which became household topics? It's clear to me that it was a bit of both. For one thing we came out of the War a much more confident people with a more closely-interlocked national economy. We had a more independent outlook on the international scene and top rank diplomats who had the status which enabled them to function at a level of prominence unknown before the War.

But we must return to Question Period. If one runs through the Hansard record for the weeks leading up to and including the famous Black Friday of the pipeline debacle in June 1956, one finds a generally longer Question Period than in the 1940s. Some days as many as a dozen MPs put questions to the Ministry. But these questions conformed almost totally to the so-called "traditional Rules". The harshest question I could find in Question Period at that time came from Stanley Knowles a few days after Black Friday when the Opposition had exploded over Speaker Beaudoin's decision to alter a ruling he'd made previously. Mr. Knowles wanted to know if the Prime Minister felt the Government had "the moral authority" to carry on after such an imbroglio in Parliament and with the Opposition lacking any confidence in the Speaker. Compared to the mean invective, and the slurs on honesty, integrity and competence which are so much a part of questions and answers in the past few years, this was a Sunday school with well-behaved children in 1956.

The Perfect Question

Stanley Knowles was the Whip of my first caucus and he drilled all of us who were new on the drafting and presenting of oral questions. Don't preface your question with a statement. Don't express any judgment or opinion on the minister or his department in your question. Be succinct or you'll be sat down. Don't ask a supplementary unless you really have a good "kicker" His advice was sound and when I strayed from his dictum I was passed over by the Speaker, or the minister would say "that's a question for the order paper" or "I'll take that question under consideration".

At that time, when Speaker Michener was fairly new in the chair, he was much helped by veteran backbenchers who would shout "question; question!" if a Member was a long time getting to the point. And if something nasty or leading towards the critical came into a question there'd be a rising roar of protest from the Government benches. One of my best friends in the House after the 1958 election was the Liberal MP for Fort William, Hubert Badanai. He had such a wretched time getting an oral question completed in the House that both Jack Pickersgill, the Liberal House leader, and I spent many minutes going over his drafts. Despite our advice, he earned the derisive nickname from the government backbenches of "Mr. Out-of-Order".

It was clear with Speaker Michener, and it continued under his successors Marcel Lambert and Allan MacNaughton, that the more

veteran an MP was the more chance he had for recognition in Question Period. Further, the more a reputation an MP had for being long-winded or vitriolic or vague and imprecise, the less likely he was to get recognized.

If one wanted to score a strike on a minister in Question Period it was almost imperative that the gist of it be in the closing words, otherwise one would be ruled out of order. And it was not really easy to get recognized for a supplementary if you'd shown that you tended to repeat your original question or make a comment on the answer given. It wasn't until the Speaker Jerome years (1974-1979) that the practice of allowing almost every Opposition questioner (but not a backbencher from the government side) to have a supplementary became an ingrained routine.

A Lengthening Question Period

What began to develop in the edgy atmosphere of the first Diefenbaker parliament as veteran Liberal MPs came to terms with their reduced numbers, and everybody wondered how soon an election might come to resolve the unusual minority situation, was a lengthening of the Question Period and some formalizing of its routines.

There was distinctly more tension in the House than for decades and immensely more attention was paid to Question Period by the media. Not only was "the Chief" bestriding the land as a popular politician like none other before him, the whole country seemed to wonder how long the House could last. It was a House in which each of the four parties had Members of long experience and the competition for questions and to get speaking time in debates was severe. Further, the Government was headed by a man who loved to spend time in the House and as much as possible on his feet, answering questions, making statements or giving speeches. This was to ensure its ultra-importance. It was by far the most important segment in partisan politics after the 1958 election sweep of the Tories. The penchant of the Prime Minister for the House actually helped opposition MPs, scanty though they were in number. He hated to miss Question Period, and the Opposition, while courtly and restrained by recent standards, filled up most of the hour before the legislative or supply business got underway, with questions. There were, however, those in the Government and even in the media who thought the oral Question Period was going degenerate.

Urgent Matters of Public Concern

On February 20, 1961 Arthur Blakely, a columnist for the Montreal Gazette, wrote "this session, the Question Period may have sunk to an all-time low... Genuine attempts to elicit or supply information on 'very urgent and important matters of public concern' have tended to become the exception rather than the rule. Questions and answers are used more and more as a vehicle for attacking political opponents. The 'urgent and important' rule has been stretched despite stern prohibitions. Ironical and rhetorical questions have multiplied along with those with a heavy content of epithet, innuendo, satire or ridicule. Answers have been supplied in kind."

Blakely noted the effect of challenge and response: "If Opposition Members of Parliament are guilty of trying to 'smuggle' sharp speeches into Hansard in the form of questions, Cabinet Ministers are equally guilty of delivering satirical orations which purport to be answers."

It's worth remembering that the parliaments after the election of 1962, and until the comparative sweep by the Liberals under Trudeau in 1968 were minority ones and fraught with the tensions supplied by four caucuses. There was also the growing emergence, led by Real Caouette, of French-speaking MPs determined to take their share and more of Question Period and debate. In my opinion, reinforced by a run through past Hansards, Speakers Lambert and Macnaughton were somewhat stricter in applying the rules in Question Period than Speaker Michener had been. The reality was that they hadn't much choice; otherwise, there would have been daily chaos. Meanwhile there were several other developments, partly as a result of demands by government backbenchers. One was the so-called "late show" where an MP who wanted further information could make an extended question and get a pre-

pared, oral answer. Another was the chance through a fair, proportional split between parties for backbench MPs to begin the day with a motion expressing a short viewpoint. Later this device was tightened as to length and the opportunity to move a motion which never went anywhere was replaced with the opportunity to make a brief statement of opinion, extreme or moderate.

Television Arrives

These particular additions—perhaps one could call them reforms—illustrated the rising need of ordinary MPs of all caucuses to be seen and heard in the House, to get themselves on the record, again and again. No more could MPs go for years without opening their mouths. These steps, like the lengthening and sharpening partisanship in the oral Question Period, both fed and reflected the growing obsession of the Canadian media (and apparently the public) with federal politics and what went on each day in the House Question Period. And as reporters, networks, and coverage multiplied, extended and competed, so did the pressures on Question Period. Eventually acceptance came in 1978, after fifteen years of advocacy by a few MPs, that House proceedings be televised fully and videotaped.

Let me go back to two of the Speakers of the House—Lucien Lamoureux (1966-1974) and James Jerome (1974-1979). These were exceptionally talented, quick-witted, confident and shrewd men. My thesis is that their exceptional toughness of spirit and determination gave stability to House proceedings. Extended crises in confidence or dissatisfaction with their rulings didn't exist. Both knew that they must hew as closely to the rules and traditions as they could if control were to be maintained. Each, however, was arbitrary on occasion in order to let the recalcitrants and the hell-raisers know there were sharp limits to disorder and insult. Lamoureux and Jerome were also helped by the pleasant personality and courtesy of the two Leaders of the Opposition for most of their sessions—i.e., Bob Stanfield and Joe Clark. Both these men and the Speakers had their problems with John Diefenbaker but it was gradually recognized, even ungrudgingly by Prime Minister Trudeau, that the Chief was a special case for unique latitude when it came to bending or breaking the procedural rules in Question Period.

The televising of the House late in Jerome's regime as Speaker brought even more of a premium to the MP who could put a reportable question in the House. Of course, it also put more pressure on the minister addressed to deflate or strike back at a nasty questioner. Jerome was able to handle the stepped-up scenarios created by television coverage but he had to go to great lengths in hustling along proceedings and ignoring the more provocative performers. It's fair to say that by the end of the Jerome speakership, the demands on the incumbent were heavier than ever before, almost entirely because of the nature of Question Period. Attendance at, or interest in, debates on the part of MPs had continued to fade. Television coverage used by the networks almost ignored (and ignores) House debates. Of course, it doesn't touch committee proceedings at all (except once, with the Constitutional proposition).

Longer and Nastier Questions

It was into this parliamentary arena with its inordinate focus by both MPs and the media on Question Period that both Jeanne Sauvé and John Bosley came—she in 1980, he in 1984. Neither had anything like the experience or the prior interest in the House of either Lamoureux or Jerome. Neither proved as confident or as sure. Sauvé, in particular, faced the bleak prospect of a numerous Opposition with several score of very experienced Conservative MPs who were much out of sorts at having had such a brief stay in power. Cranky, critical and increasingly aggressive, they exploited every possible tactic in the House to delay or embarrass the Trudeau government as it drove hard to legislate the rather epic bills on the National Energy Program and the Constitution with a Charter of Rights.

Under Sauvé questions got longer and nastier; so did answers, when they were given. This was especially true during and after the extended drama of the Constitution.

Another factor which undoubtedly had an

influence on the performance of Speaker Sauvé was the appointment of a new Clerk of the House of Commons in 1979. The two previous Clerks, covering the period from the early 1950s, had been experienced in partisan politics. The new Clerk was more academic or scholarly and without any experience or even a deep interest in partisan activity.

As much through good luck as by the grace of the moderate style of leadership in the Opposition, Madame Sauvé survived as Speaker without coming to the disaster which unruliness and distrust always seemed to threaten. Her immediate successor, Lloyd Francis, hadn't long in the chair. In any case, he was too experienced as an MP to get into any real trouble by showing either too much latitude or severity.

Courtesy Disappears

And then came the Progressive Conservative sweep, the influx of scores of new MPs, a green Prime Minister, and a relatively green Ministry. Add two smallish Opposition caucuses close in numbers and intense competition between them during Question Period was a certainty.

To the chore of Speaker came John Bosley, an MP for five years, the only Tory MP from outside Québec with much facility in French. He was the obvious choice for Mr. Mulroney to put forward and almost everyone assumed his life as Speaker would be relatively uneventful. What wasn't anticipated was his view of his role as more a director of a symphony with its various sections than as a tough, neutral arbiter above and between contending people. Further, no one I knew who was familiar with John Turner as an MP expected that his caucus, led by three new MPs and backed by several with just a few years in the House, would behave in the House in Question Period as though there weren't any restraints on insults or criticisms.

From the start the Liberal Rat Pack went after the Ministry, including the Prime Minister, with attacks on character and competence of a virulence unprecedented in the years of parliament which I've witnessed.

The Speaker let most of such outrageous comment and innuendo go, forcing other MPs to go to the same extremes just to match. It was odd—and a run through Hansard will confirm this. Turner and Broadbent began this Parliament as though the traditional rules for Question Period were in force and respected by them. But the latitudinarianism of Speaker Bosley and the excessive language of the Rat Pack had their influence. Going into the second session of the present Parliament with a new Speaker, the party leaders are as free with taunts and personal attacks as the Rat Pack.

Looking to the Future

It will be a miracle if Speaker Fraser is able to turn back the House in it's Question Period towards some of its lost decorum and gentlemanliness. Perhaps his greatest problem is simply that the oral Question Period has become both the agenda—and the only real stage of national politics.

Perhaps the best illustration at hand on the way ahead and the challenge for Speaker Fraser came from the Opposition leaders in their first oral questions after he won the Chair.

John Turner began:

> "Mr. Speaker, in the Speech from the Throne, the Right Hon. Prime Minister made an about-face on free trade. My question is directed to the Right Hon. Prime Minister. After heading off in the wrong direction, he doesn't know where he is going anymore. He has just abandoned the cornerstone of his policy. What is going to be left of his credibility?"

Ed Broadbent did begin by stating he had a question to direct to the Prime Minister but his preamble was longer and as opinionated, and argumentative:

> "Not many months ago in Washington, with great fanfare the Canadian government released hundreds of pounds of documents, allegedly proving beyond any reasonable doubt that our softwood lumber was going into the United States without any subsidy whatever. At that time the Secretary of State for External Affairs properly cautioned Canadians not to comment, not to discuss, not to change the proposals because it would undermine what was being argued

before the tribunal. Is the Prime Minister aware that when the Minister for International Trade made her proposal on Tuesday of this week, it completely contradicted what the Secretary of State for External Affairs said should have been done, and risked 25,000 jobs?"

There's a core of a good question with relevancy and urgency in Broadbent's endemic, but intrinsically his was the stuff of debate, not of questions. And later when Broadbent had had his first response from the Minister for International Trade, he took over a hundred words preamble before stating his second question.

After this first Question Period was over the Government Leader in the House, Don Mazankowski, raised a point of order, pointing out how both leaders had abused the rules of the oral Question Period and drawing this to the attention of the Speaker.

What followed, in the House and more significantly in the bulk of the editorial and reportage comment was anger that such pressure had been put by the Government so soon on the new Speaker.

Perhaps a fair, sane, and constructive oral Question Period is no longer possible. It might even be argued that this immense advantage in belittling an all-round majority government is a necessary counter to the flow of so much power to the Executive in our system. Whatever, it makes for lively partisanship and a daily fillip for the Opposition.

Douglas Fisher is a well known Canadian syndicated columnist and political commentator, and served as a member on the Ontario Commission on the Legislature.

Making Government the Instrument of the People

Some Provocative Proposals

BY DONALD JOHNSTON

The importance of reforming parliament and specifically the House of Commons enjoys a varying priority depending upon the critic. From the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) the subject will always attract lip service but little more. This is understandable because any sensible reform of the House of Commons implies a concomitant reduction in the power of that Office.

From the point of view of backbenchers however, reform is critical. For a new Member of Parliament the initial euphoria that accompanies election, the trappings of official Ottawa and the array of new sights, sounds and perquisites, gradually give way to feelings of frustration and impotence. That is not true of all but it is characteristic of the ambitious and thoughtful representative who frequently suffers a marked deterioration in income and family life to serve the public interest. For most, the distance to the Cabinet table seems as great as before the election. They watch as they see other people rise to the Ministry, not through ability but through a mixture of other criteria, a dominant one being geography.

Despite the frustrations some MPs settle into a comfortable parliamentary existence with hopes of perpetuating it for the future. They enjoy a lifestyle which often permits them to travel the world on the public purse. Never setting their sights beyond the next election, it is understandable that they seek to extend their political lives and enhance their future pension by attending more barbecues and community functions than House of Commons committee meetings. One former MP, armed with a word processor and an ever-growing data base, set about to send a birthday greeting to every resident in his riding. That would mean clogging the mail system with several hundred greetings every day of the year at public expense!

And what of the public? I have not studied any polls but, judging from my own mail and my meetings with concerned citizens across Canada, I would say that by and large there are mixed feelings about the role of the House of Commons in the government of our nation's business. The range of feelings is not from admiration to criticism, however, it is rather from criticism to contempt and a sense that Parliament is wasteful and probably irrelevant.

The merits of television coverage of the House of Commons is the subject of much debate. Are the sometimes childish antics of MPs during Question Period heightened by such public exposure or has television simply made the public more aware of how much senseless posturing MPs have always engaged in? Having only been in the House since 1978, I can not answer that question. I am inclined to agree with Douglas Fisher who writing in another section of this book believes that civility disappeared during the historic Pipeline Debate of the 1950s and has never been fully restored. Nevertheless the atmosphere today is less poisonous than that experienced through the Diefenbaker-Pearson years.

As far as relevancy is concerned, the system is not without some merit. Committees can do good work. The Judicial Committee on Prison Reform chaired by Mark McGuigan in the 1970s is a first class example. Unfortunately the Report languishes in government vaults along with so many others, including those of Royal Commissions, that will never be acted upon.

Other committees are more successful in having their decisions carried out. The Committee on Official Languages, for example, was very effective in holding the Government to

account in the administration of language policy. Having appeared before this Committee as President of the Treasury Board, I can testify to its effectiveness. It had a distinctly non-partisan flavour, perhaps due to the unanimous support the House of Commons had given the law when it was adopted. In the House itself Question Period is important. Patronage is quickly exposed to the nation for what it is and, generally speaking, the overall integrity and probity of government is subjected to close daily scrutiny. We are greatly helped in that exercise by the Auditor General, an Officer of Parliament, whose Annual Report is a most salutary instrument in monitoring the expenditure of public money. Public officials and their responsible ministers abhor the thought of being named in that report for wanton administration.

Commanding Respect

So, I would not conclude that Parliament is wholly irrelevant. But I do conclude that it is largely irrelevant. Its role must be strengthened if it is to command the respect of the Canadian electorate. I have argued that to make Parliament an informed body of public debate, with the capacity to bring about much-needed radical changes in Canada's public policy, MPs must be given the tools to do the job. That presupposes a quality of MP capable of using those tools. Are they there today? Despite the perception that many Canadians may have of MPs, I see around me in the House of Commons an overwhelming majority of capable, dedicated people. The quality and skills of parliamentarians could no doubt be improved, but that is unlikely to happen until the challenge of serving in the House of Commons is sufficiently attractive to bring more capable men and women into public life.

How can that be accomplished? Before prescribing a cure let us first diagnose the disease.

The relative unimportance of most Members of Parliament is not the product of a malevolent plot by ambitious mandarins or political backroom boys. Nor is it caused by the ever-growing power of non-elected advisors in the Prime Minister's Office. The fault lies in our parliamentary system itself.

Prescribing a Cure

Our Parliamentary-Cabinet style of government has concentrated power in the hands of the Cabinet and the Prime Minister. The larger the Cabinet the more power finds its way into the Prime Minister's Office. Anyone who has participated in a committee meeting of thirty or forty people knows that the Chairman and only the Chairman can call the shots. That is why I argue for a much reduced Cabinet where authority and accountability are clearly vested. While the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, operate with a Cabinet and Politburo of twelve or less, we Canadians apparently require nearly forty ministers to govern a country whose economy and population are smaller than those of the state of California!

The point is, the size of our Cabinet has been increased to accommodate political imperatives, not to achieve good government. But this situation is in turn a product of our parliamentary system and not the root cause that demands reform. In the Parliamentary-Cabinet system the Government is responsible to the House of Commons and must retain the support of a majority of MPs to maintain power. While one might think this would place power in the hands of Members, the opposite is true. Because the Cabinet is drawn from the ranks of elected MPs there is an incentive to support the government in its initiatives regardless of personal convictions, to curry favour in hopes of future promotion to the Cabinet. History has shown that mavericks seldom make it to the Cabinet table. There is also strong pressure to toe the party line, generated by the fact that MPs rely upon the backing of party machinery and fellow MPs during election campaigns. Finally, the fact that the Government can fall simply by losing a vote—interpreted as non-confidence of the House of Commons in the Government—exerts enormous pressure for the governing party to disregard the views of individual MPs, insist on party discipline and vote as a block on all issues. In other words, the convention of non-confidence in the Government as a concept designed to create responsibility has the opposite effect.

It is party discipline which concentrates

power in the hands of the Cabinet and ultimately the PMO. As a consequence the House of Commons is reduced to a voting machine where speeches are made mainly to fill time, permitting the Opposition to demonstrate its power in holding up passage of flawed legislation. No one pays attention to most of these speeches because they are endless repetitions of the same arguments. The country deserves better.

Party discipline has greatly eroded the value of the House of Commons as a forum of informed debate and action on the major issues of the day. Good MPs with independent views on public policy are stifled if their positions conflict with those of the Cabinet. While there is more freedom on the Opposition benches, their views are equally irrelevant since no amount of persuasive argument will alter the votes of Members of the ruling party. Public opinion shaped by the media and registered in public opinion polls commissioned by the government, probably has infinitely more influence on a government's policy than MPs. Surely it is a travesty that MPs sent to parliament by the votes of tens of thousands of Canadians should have less influence on public policy than pollsters.

Without serious reform this situation will not change. Any reform requires the support of more than 50% of the MPs and there lies the problem. A majority government such as the one we now have has no incentive to reduce party discipline despite the deleterious effect it is having on the House of Commons, the morale of its Members and the perception of the public. That is why the parliamentary reform we are likely to see will focus on mechanics rather than substance. Bringing the House into the modern age with electronic voting, better research for committees and improved rules of debate, addresses form but not the substance.

Assaulting Discipline

For me, only one major change is needed, namely a real assault on the convention of discipline. There is a ray of hope in the Report of the Special Committee on Reform of the House of Commons tabled in June of 1985. The committee concluded:

> "Rigid discipline is hardly compatible with the philosophy of a democratic political party, and reasonable latitude consistent with loyalty to the party should be permitted to individual Members of any party."

The Committee wisely suggested that confidence votes be restricted to measures which are central to the administration of the Government. Dissent, it argued, is healthy and constructive but to bring about this fundamental reform, a basic change in attitude is also necessary:

> "If the necessary changes of attitude come about, not only would the role of the Private Member become more meaningful, but parliamentary government itself would become more effective."

For those many thousand Canadians interested in participating in developing and implementing public policy, no experience could be more stimulating nor more fulfilling than that of an MP in a House of Commons freed from the heavy hand of the party whip and the other sanctions now currently available to enforce discipline.

Accepting the notion that discipline should be retained only for matters central to the administration of the Government, what would that include? I see non-confidence votes being maintained on budgetary bills, the Speech from the Throne, and discrete issues which arise from time to time and which the Government considers pivotal to its mandate. But these should be the exception. Among the issues dealt with during the years I served in Cabinet, the Constitutional Resolution would fall into this category. The controversial National Energy Program (NEP) and the Western Transportation Initiative which modified the controversial Crow Rate, on the other hand, could have been freed from party discipline. Any budgetary measures contained in such legislation could have been separated out for non-confidence purposes.

It was the Crow Rate debate that made me realize what a contribution to national unity

the substantial elimination of party discipline could make. Private conversations with other Members, especially from Western Canada, satisfied me that there was broad support for changes to the Crow Rate. True, there were many views on specifics. But on the overall objective of diversifying the agricultural base in Western Canada and encouraging secondary industry on that base there was almost unanimity. It was a political mine-field but everyone knew action was required.

During that period I spent much time in Western Canada and was repeatedly told that Westerners did not believe anyone was speaking for them in the House of Commons. The Liberal Party had no Members west of Ste. Boniface, Manitoba so how, they argued, could the Government take into account the views of Western Canadians? Yet Westerners were well represented in the House of Commons with many able MPs. Not sitting in Cabinet nor on the benches of the governing party they were perceived as being irrelevant to the legislative process by those electors who had sent them to Ottawa. If party discipline had been relaxed, however, those MPs could have played an active role in developing and implementing legislation to deal with the anachronism of the Crow Rate for grain transportation. Western Canadians would then have been satisfied that their views were being heard and acted upon. A compromise in the Crow Rate bill might have been achieved which could have produced better legislation and could have brought the country together rather than dividing it. Party discipline made that impossible.

When national parties are shut out of a region of the country, as the Liberal Party was in Western Canada during the latter part of the Trudeau mandate and as the Conservative Party was in Québec, a cry goes up recommending proportional representation. Recourse to that solution I see as a destabilizing move. The incentive to have recourse to it could be eliminated through an effective reduction of party discipline.

Limiting Longevity

In 1986 I made a number of recommendations with respect to Parliamentary reform (in Up the Hill, Chapter XVII). The one that emerged as most controversial was my view that parliamentarians should be limited to not more than twelve years in the House of Commons. Such a limitation would be a good thing, speeding up the turnover of Canadians participating in the legislative process and permitting representation by women and other underrepresented groups to change more quickly. Canada has no need of politicians who are more interested in their own political longevity than the good of the country. We have endured many. Some argue that MPs should stay as long as their electorate approves. That argument is persuasive until one recognizes that few MPs are elected on their own merits. General elections in Canada have become predominantly leadership contests. Singularly incompetent representatives are carried to victory on the coat tails of the leader.

What I overlooked in my book is the fact that the elimination of party discipline should dramatically change that situation. If Members were free to exercise their own judgment, to propose their own policies, to build coalitions and counter policies put forward by the leadership of their own parties, then it is probable that elections would focus more upon the merits of the individual Member and less on the party leader.

The cynics, career politicians and many back room political advisors scoff at such recommendations as I have made. They see them as naive and out of touch with political reality. The pursuit of power for its own sake comes quickly into conflict with democratic ideas. But the Canadian people sense that government has ceased to be their instrument to accomplish their objectives. It is more often seen as an adversary than an ally. Their only control is through their MP. He or she is their only contact, their only instrument to influence that unfriendly giant that seems so often to be running amok. At the moment their instrument is not connected to the Government.

The Honourable Donald Johnston, PC, is External Affairs Critic, House of Commons, Ottawa, and a former President of the Treasury Board.

The Importance of Canada's Legislature Internship Programs

BY FREDERICK J. FLETCHER
AND RUTH A. FLYNN

Each year at a growing number of legislatures across the country, a small group of highly qualified recent university graduates arrives to begin a unique educational experience. At five provincial assemblies and on Parliament Hill, between four and ten highly motivated individuals will be introduced as "this year's Interns". Each Intern will have unparalleled access to the inner workings of the legislative process as well as learning new work skills and contributing to the effectiveness of Private Members. The Interns will work long hours assisting legislators and absorbing the lore of politics and will come away with renewed respect for the Members and for the parliamentary system, though most will have suggestions for reform.

Between 1970 and 1976 five parliamentary internship programs were established in Canada, all of them on an experimental basis. By 1986 four of the five were still in operation and two more had been added. The general consensus is that what the late Lester B. Pearson called, with some exaggeration, "the most important experiment in parliamentary activity since 1867" has been a notable success. The Québec program, though highly regarded, has been suspended for 1986-87 pending a review of its financing and administration.

In 1985-86, 46 of Canada's most promising recent graduates were selected from some 600 applicants to serve as Interns in Parliament and six provincial legislatures. The programs vary in administration and organization, reflecting their differing legislative environments, but have essentially the same objectives. The Interns work full-time at the legislatures for a term of either six or ten months and are paid a modest stipend. In this paper we describe the evolution and current operation of the programs and assess the degree to which they have achieved their objectives. Some of the key elements of the existing programs are set out in the accompanying table.

In many ways, this article is an updating and broadening of the discussion initiated by David Mitchell, a former B.C. Intern, in an article in Canadian Parliamentary Review (Spring1982). Moreover, it draws on some useful Intern papers and reports and documents of the various programs.

Origins

In general terms, internships are an outgrowth of the apprenticeship system in the crafts and trades. Political internships began in the United States as a reflection of the commitment to practical education or knowledge through experience that emerged there early in this century. Political internships have been traced to programs for training in public administration, founded in the U.S. as early as 1911. Legislative internships emerged in the 1940s and flowered in the 1960s. Canadian internship programs have been most influenced by the programs operating in Congress and 24 U.S. state legislatures, often called "fellows programs" to distinguish them from a vast array of work-study type internship programs. The fellows programs are open only to graduates; pay a stipend to the fellows; are awarded through a competitive process and are heavily competed for. There are a number for recent graduates, such as most of the fellows pro-

grams in the state legislatures, and several for mid-career professionals, such as the Congressional and White House Fellows programs. The Canadian programs, while inspired by the American example, have evolved quite independently.

The Canadian experiments can be traced to discussions in the Federal Parliament in the late 1960s that led to a motion presented to the House of Commons on March 10, 1969, by Alf Hales, the Member of Parliament for Wellington for seventeen years. After gaining the support of The Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA), The Donner Canadian Foundation, the Speaker and House Leaders, Mr. Hales proposed that an internship program be established to promote "a better under standing of the national legislative process...". The motion was referred to the Standing Committee on Procedure and Organization and formed the basis for the Parliamentary Internship Program (PIP), which brought ten Interns to Parliament Hill in 1970 to begin a ten-month term. The Program's academic structure was based on the Congressional Fellowship Program in Washington, D.C. Provincial legislators were quick to see the benefits of the program and counterparts were established in Québec (1974), Alberta (1974), British Columbia (1976) and Ontario (1976). After some years of effort, programs were established in Manitoba (1985) and in Nova Scotia (1986). Their creation attests to the success of the older programs.

The Québec National Assembly was host to a program from 1974-76 and from 1979-1986. The first program, funded by the Donner Foundation, was highly successful in terms of serving Members and attracting qualified applicants, but folded when private funding could not be arranged to replace the start-up money provided by Donner. The program was closely modelled on PIP. It started again in 1979 under the auspices of the Fondation Jean-Charles-Bonenfant, itself publicly funded. There was sufficient funding for only four Interns. Efforts to attract private funding to the Foundation were unsuccessful. With the change of government in 1985 the Assembly suspended its grant to the Fondation pending a full review of the program. It is expected that the program will resume in 1987-88. At a regional seminar of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in November 1976, Dominique LaPointe, Parliamentary Counsel to the National Assembly of Québec, noted "The program ended not because it was not fruitful, but simply because of hard economics...It proved to be such a satisfying experience that we tried to prolong the program by seeking financial aid from outside sources. Unfortunately, the assistance was not forthcoming...".

Common Objectives

Despite varying organizational arrangements, the programs have common objectives: "hands-on" education for the Interns, assistance to legislators and public information. PIP, in its most recent brochure, summarizes the program's objectives this way:

> The Parliamentary Internship Program provides backbench Members of Parliament with the aid of young Canadians who bring outstanding educational qualifications and a dynamic, fresh perspective. The program has three aims:
>
> —It provides MPs with a vital resource in face of the exceptional support available to cabinet ministers;
> —(Some exceptional) university graduates are able to supplement their scholarly knowledge of Canada's Parliament with practical experience;
> —The graduates of the program become an important national resource. The program's alumni help to bridge the gulfs between Parliament and society and between public and private sectors in their careers in business, journalism, public service, education, and in unions and civic groups.

The Alberta Legislative Internship Program stresses the mutual benefits of the Intern-Member relationship. The Interns "are given a unique opportunity to observe governmental and legislative processes from the point of view of the legislators themselves. In turn, Members may benefit from the enthusiasm and ideas of each new group of Interns". Direct benefits to MLAs include "exceptionally com-

petent and effective assistance, particularly in research and work for constituents", freeing Members for other work. The Alberta manual (1984) adds: "the ultimate value of the program lies in the development of a nucleus of promising young Albertans, potential future leaders, who understand better the principles of our parliamentary system of self-government and the work of elected representatives...".

In contrast to the U.S. programs, the Canadian programs stress benefits to the host institutions and their Members and to society in general, as well as to the individual Interns. The U.S. programs are justified almost exclusively in terms of their educational objectives. The emphasis in Canada on service to Members underscores the fact that internships are part of an effort to increase the policy role of Private Members. The latest PIP statement, quoted above, comments on the imbalance of support between Cabinet and Parliament. The Ontario Commission on the Legislature (Camp Commission) recommended the Ontario Legislature Internship Program (OLIP) as part of a package of parliamentary reforms designed to strengthen the Private Member.

The stress on public education, noted in the objectives of all programs, is also linked to parliamentary reform. The hope was that the programs would help to create a public constituency for reform, while helping to alleviate a perceived lack of understanding and appreciation of the working of Canadian parliamentary democracy. In addition, program supervisors have become increasingly aware of the contributions of Interns in their subsequent careers in helping to bridge some of the gaps in Canadian society: between business and government, labour and government, media and government, civic groups and the parliamentary process.

Administering the programs

The administrative structures for these programs are of three types. The two CPSA-sponsored programs—PIP and OLIP—are each administered by a Director appointed by the Association's Executive Committee for a three-year term (renewable once). The two Directors are assisted by legislative officials in the day-to-day operation of the programs but are accountable for financial and policy matters to the CPSA. The PIP Director is assisted by a CPSA-appointed Policy Committee of academics and a parliamentary committee made up of one MP from each party. The OLIP Director (formally called Academic Director) is advised by a committee representing both the CPSA and the Speaker of the Assembly.

The second model—exemplified by Alberta and B.C.—involves administration by the Speaker of the Assembly. In Alberta, the Speaker is the administrator of the program and Chairman of the program's Selection and Advisory Committee. The Committee consists of a representative of the government and opposition caucuses and of the Universities of Alberta, Calgary and Lethbridge (usually a political scientist). The Executive Assistant to the Speaker handles day-to-day tasks. In British Columbia the Administrative Assistant to the Speaker administers daily program operations, while the Academic Director deals with the universities and organizes the academic side of the program.

The third model is found in the two new programs in Manitoba and Nova Scotia. In both cases the Academic Director is the chief operating officer, assisted by staff in the Speaker's Office. However, the Academic Director is responsible in each case to the Assembly—through a committee—rather than to an academic organization like the CPSA. The Manitoba program is overseen by a steering committee chaired by the Academic Director and made up of the Speaker and the Clerk of the Assembly and two MLAs representing the political parties. The Committee appoints the Academic Director. In Nova Scotia the Select Committee on Procedure of the Legislature appoints the Academic Director.

Although the first model provides a greater guarantee of political neutrality and independence, there have been no major problems in this respect in the other programs. In all cases, the non-partisan nature of the programs has sometimes been challenged but the principle seems well accepted by most Members. Each program appears to have developed a structure appropriate to its legislative environment.

With increased contact in recent years, the programs have begun to borrow from one another, improving their administration and academic programs.

In all programs much of the day-to-day administration is delegated to the Interns themselves. They play a major role in setting up academic seminars and organizing and hosting exchange visits from other programs. The principle of Intern self-help has probably been carried farthest in Ontario, where the Interns do much of the work involved in setting up seminars and exchange visits and even assist in the fund-raising. These responsibilities form a part of the learning process.

Budget and Funding

PIP is the only program funded primarily from private sources. About three-quarters of its funds come from donations, with the largest single amount from the Canadian Life and Health Insurance Association. In 1986-87, the program has five patrons (contributing at least $15,000 per year) and 24 other sponsors. The public funds take the form of an administrative grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Parliament makes no direct financial contribution. PIP must raise at least $145,000 per year (in addition to the SSHRCC grant) to survive. Recently the program has moved to institutionalize its fund-raising activities. The CPSA appointed as campaign chairman Richard Bertrand, Vice-President of the government relations firm Executive Consultants Ltd. and a Governor of the University of Ottawa. He is also chairman of a newly created Board of Sponsors. In addition an alumni community has been formed, with Globe and Mail columnist Jeffery Simpson as its first Chairman, assisted by a representative from each year's graduates. They have worked at fund raising and assisted with other aspects of the program. Other programs are considering similar initiatives.

The five provincial programs are funded entirely or primarily from the Assembly budgets, either directly or, in the Ontario case, through a grant to the CPSA. Total budgets range from some $27,000 for the six month Nova Scotia program to $180,000 for the longer Alberta program. It must be noted that the figures shown in the table are not strictly comparable because some program expenditures may be covered in other Assembly or government budgets. Of the provincial programs, all but B.C. either have some private support or are planning to seek it. The Ontario program started with about 20% of its funding from the private sector, but failed to maintain that level during the recession. The Assembly now pays all basic costs, while the exchange visits and educational programs are funded from private sources, which currently amounts to about ten percent of the total budget. The other programs also see private support as supplementary.

The experience of the Québec program, as well as the difficulties in Ontario and periodic scrambles for funds to keep PIP functioning, makes it clear how difficult it is to fund the programs privately. The PIP situation would be even more difficult if it had to compete for private funds with the provincial programs.

Although private funding may help to guarantee the independent and non-partisan standing of the programs, there is little evidence that the publicly-funded programs have suffered partisan interference. In any case, all of the programs require the cooperation of their legislatures and must ensure that they provide a valued service to Members. However, the participation of private sponsors does have the benefit of broadening the perspective of the Interns and raising the profile of the programs in the community. Yet, the scramble for private funding can occupy a great proportion of the time of the directors of the programs, inevitably detracting from their educational role. In short, each program must adapt to its own environment. The programs are a bargain from any standpoint. For between $1,250 and $2,250 per month (including overhead) for each Intern, legislators obtain staff assistance that they could not hire for that amount. Indeed, as former MP Cyril Symes has observed, assistants with the qualifications and motivation of the Interns can only rarely be hired for the full-time salaries that legislators can pay. From an educational standpoint, it would be difficult to maintain Interns in graduate programs for that cost, when fellowships and overhead costs are

considered. Costs are minimal for several reasons: academic directors and legislative coordinators do much of the work voluntarily or accept token honoraria; in the case of the CPSA-sponsored programs, universities provide office space and some services; private funding provides the extras in several programs.

Criteria for selection

Although the procedures for the selection of Interns are strikingly similar among the six programs, the eligibility rules differ somewhat. While the two CPSA programs accept recent university graduates from anywhere in Canada (or Canadian nationals with foreign degrees), the other provincial programs recruit primarily or exclusively from within the province. Although all but two of the programs have no disciplinary restrictions, recruitment is predominantly from political science and related disciplines (such as sociology, economics, history, business, law, journalism, geography, and public administration).

Formal criteria appear in some form in most of the programs and include academic excellence, personal maturity, demonstrated interest in and knowledge of parliamentary government and/or the public affairs of the jurisdiction, capacity to work in a non-partisan environment, and ability to assist Members. The federal program also mentions language skills and notes that at least some of the Interns each year are expected to be bilingual. For 1986-87 all are bilingual. The Ontario program also strives to have at least one bilingual Intern. Personal characteristics, such as judgment and capacity to work in a group, play an important role in the final interviews. Many selection committees also consider potential benefit to the candidate, in both personal and career terms. This has traditionally been stressed in Québec. In most cases some attention is given to regional representation and to male/female balance, but there are no explicit guidelines.

Comprehensive statistics on the composition of the more than 500 people who have served as Interns since 1970 are lacking, but it appears that a very wide range of universities and regions has been represented. In Ontario, for example, all but one of the sixteen degree-granting institutions in the Province have been represented by an Intern. The average age of Interns has been in the mid-twenties but the range runs from 20 to 40. The proportion of female Interns is close to 50% and there has been quite a wide range of disciplines represented, though political science has predominated.

The selection committee is normally chaired by the Academic Director, except in Alberta where it has always been chaired by the Speaker. In all other cases the Speaker either serves on the committee or, more commonly, is represented by a member of the staff of the House. There are university representatives or CPSA representatives on all of the committees and all but Alberta and Québec have traditionally included a current or former Intern. The PIP Committee also has a representative of the Québec Political Science Association. The two CPSA programs have a majority of academics. The Clerk of the House normally serves on the Committee in Manitoba and Nova Scotia. Only two programs have representatives of the caucuses on their committees: Alberta and Manitoba. Caucus representatives have also served in Québec. In the other cases the interests of the Members have been represented by legislative staff. The final selection is always difficult. The Ontario program estimates for every Intern selected it receives 20 applications, ten of whom would make excellent Interns.

Whether or not the programs would benefit from a broader base of recruitment is difficult to judge. The addition of Interns with a scientific or technical background would benefit Members with interest in such subjects. In their subsequent careers such Interns might increase the political awareness of their professions. However, most Members require generalist rather than specialist researchers and the orientation programs would have to be much more intensive to provide the political skills needed to work effectively with Members. On the other hand, the Ontario program has been quite successful in admitting one or two Interns lacking a political science or related background in any given year.

Intern Assignments

The Interns work either directly for individual Members—in Ottawa and at Queen's Park (and Québec City)—or for party caucuses, usually with the research staffs. (The Alberta program is a mix of the two.) In B.C. and Nova Scotia (which is modelled on the B.C. program), the Interns work as researchers in the civil service for six to eight weeks before moving to the Legislature. This is an adaptation to the short sittings and relatively inactive committee systems of those two Legislatures but has the advantage of providing a broader perspective for the Interns.

In the Federal, Ontario, and Alberta programs Interns "cross the floor" at the half-way point in the internship as did the Québec Interns, dividing their time equally between Government and Opposition. The B.C., Nova Scotia and Manitoba Interns are assigned to a caucus and remain with that caucus for the duration of their terms. Nova Scotia is exploring the possibility of switching, as is Manitoba, where the longer term makes it more appropriate.

The practice of switching not only underscores the non-partisan and professional nature of the programs but also ensures that Interns gain an understanding of both the Government and Opposition roles. Confidentiality is protected by contractual arrangements or oaths of secrecy and there have been very few problems over the years. The benefits of working in the executive branch—as in B.C. and Nova Scotia—are obvious, but Members in legislatures that sit most of the year would likely resist the loss of the Interns' services for that period.

Whether working for individual Members or caucuses, the Interns spend their time writing speeches, briefing notes, constituency newsletters and columns, preparing questions for Question Period, drafting Private Members' bills and resolutions, composing background papers on policy issues, and handling queries from constituents. The exact nature of the work depends upon the needs of the Member or caucus. All programs stress that these activities are the central feature of the Intern experience and surveys of former Interns demonstrate that the work skills learned were among the most valued benefits of the program.

Some especially fortunate Interns have been able to serve as coordinators of opposition party task forces, organizing public hearings and drafting reports. Others have played important roles in committee hearings and investigations or helped to organize leadership races and re-election campaigns (which most programs permit as long as the work is appropriate to legislative aides as opposed to party workers). Many have seen their work help to solve difficult constituent problems or influence public policy. Program supervisors have discovered the importance of striking an acceptable balance between service to the Member or caucus and fulfilling the educational goals of the programs. This involves not only maintaining a non-partisan, professional relationship (and overcoming the suspicions of some Members and staff towards what non-partisan assistants can contribute), but also preserving time for the seminars, exchange visits and research organized to further the educational goals of the Internships.

From time to time, questions have been raised about the impact on the Internship programs of the provision of additional staff and other support for Members. It has been suggested that in Ottawa, where Members enjoy the most staff support, Interns sometimes end up working for the staff rather than the Member. In Ontario the provision in 1985 of funds for additional staff for each Member had the initial effect of reducing the demand for Interns. After a brief period of adjustment, however, requests for Intern placements actually surpassed previous levels. Similarly, PIP has experienced increased demand among MPs. The increase can be traced to changes that resulted from the work of the Special Committee on Reform of the House of Commons (McGrath Committee) designed to enhance the policy role of MPs. To date, the personal relationship with Members which has been so central to the Ontario program has continued as before. In Ottawa and at Queen's Park, the process of matching Intern and Member is crucial to the success of the experience.

The Academic Component

The academic structure of PIP—which has influenced the other programs—was borrowed from the U.S. Congressional Fellowship Program and has six elements: readings, orientation, seminars, diary, faculty guidance, and a research paper. Many of those associated with the programs believe they are easily the equal of any Master's program. That level of excellence can only be achieved, however, if the supervisors strive to keep the work experience from overwhelming the reflective side of the programs.

The academic component of the programs is basically similar. Interns are assigned background reading and participate in an orientation program of two to four weeks that involves seminars with government and legislative officials. The aim is two-fold:

1) to put the legislative and policy processes in historical and institutional context; and

2) to give Interns the knowledge and contacts needed to perform their tasks efficiently. During the remainder of the term Interns have regular seminars with program supervisors and sessions with prominent parliamentarians, top political aides, senior civil servants and agency heads, academic specialists, journalists, union officials, corporate executives specializing in business-government relations, representatives of citizens' groups, and government relations consultants. The Interns' hard-won reputation for discretion helps to ensure that these sessions are extremely candid. The number of such seminars varies from program to program and year to year but has traditionally been highest in Ontario. In Alberta the Interns themselves serve as guest lecturers at seminars at the participating universities. The Interns are encouraged to attend Question Period and meetings of committees of the Legislature as often as their work assignments allow. The Alberta, Ontario and Ottawa programs also make it possible for Interns to attend party conventions and other relevant meetings, and to visit the constituencies of the Members with whom they work. Academic credit is often available to Interns but must normally be worked out with individual universities. In 1985-86, the Québec program required Interns to attend a weekly one-term seminar on parliament and parliamentary affairs at Laval University.

As part of their educational activities, the programs put some stress on exchange visits, though these are always subject to budgetary constraints. The two CPSA-sponsored programs have the greatest commitment to exchange visits. The federal Interns normally visit Queen's Park, Québec City, Washington, D.C., Westminster and Bonn. The Ontario Interns usually visit Ottawa, Québec City, Victoria, Edmonton and an American state capitol (states visited have included Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan and California). The Alberta Interns generally visit Ottawa, Québec, and Washington, D.C. They came to Queen's Park for the first time in 1986. The B.C. Interns have visited Toronto each of the past three years. The Nova Scotia Interns visited Ottawa in 1986 as did the Manitoba Interns. The Québec Interns have usually visited Ottawa and either Boston, Massachusetts, or Albany, New York.

The exchange visits involve three or four days of intensive seminars with a wide range of practitioners and experts. As one Ontario Intern put it, the visits "have immense educational benefits for the Interns. Not only do (they) learn about other legislatures and political situations, but in the process they gain a new perspective on (their own legislative process)". Program supervisors can cite several instances where information acquired on an exchange visit helped Interns in their work or became part of their research papers. Most of the programs require written reports on the visits. Some require other short reports as well.

The research papers are an important part of the program and constitute one of the legacies left by each group of Interns. The federal program specifies that they be of publishable quality and, indeed, quite a number of papers from the various programs have been published in scholarly journals or other magazines dealing with parliamentary affairs or public policy. Several volumes of papers have been published, including one by the Alberta program and two by PIP. The papers of the 1986-87 Federal Interns are to be published in a book on Parlia-

ment and Reform sponsored by the Canadian Study of Parliament Group. The Ontario program has a volume of its best papers in the planning stage. Many of the papers prepared by the Québec Interns have been published in Le Bulletin de la Bibliotheque de l'Assemblée Nationale. The papers are generally high in quality and cover a very wide range of the activities of legislatures. More important, they often deal with subjects neglected or not yet covered by scholars and procedural specialists. The papers cover the whole range of topics related to parliamentary reform—from the role of the Speaker to the committee system—and include many on current policy questions, such as pay equity. In addition there are many papers on the electoral system and regulations and issues related to government structure and reform. New developments, such as the Opposition party task forces on policy issues, have been the subjects of papers in several programs. The papers—most of which are available in their respective legislative libraries—constitute a valuable source of material for scholars and others interested not only in the legislative process but also in comparative provincial politics. Most of the programs withhold the final stipend payment until papers are completed.

PARLIAMENTARY INTERN PROGRAMS IN CANADA, 1986

Program	*Founded*	*Number Of Interns*	*Number Of Applications (Approx.)*	*Duration Of Program (Months)*[1]	*Source Of Funding*	*Monthly Stipend To Interns* $
Ottawa	1970	10	250	10	Private[2]	900
Alberta	1974	8	75	10	Public[3]	1557
British Columbia	1976	8	50	6	Public	1200
Ontario	1976	8	150	10	Private[4]	
Manitoba	1985	6	50	10[5]	Public	1200
Nova Scotia	1986	4	24	6	Public	1000

NOTE: Information on the Québec program has been omitted from the Table because it is currently suspended and under review. For 1985-86, it funded two Interns (chosen from 11 applications) for a 10-month program, with a monthly stipend of $1,100 and a total budget of about $30,000 from the Fondation Jean-Charles-Bonenfant. The program was administered by officials of the Assembly.

[1] The 10 month programs all run from September 1 to June 30; the 6 month programs run from January 1 to June 30.

[2] The PIP obtains an annual administration grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada that covers about 25 percent of the total budget.

[3] The Alberta program has received funding from private donors from time to time to pay for travel to other legislatures.

[4] The OLIP funds its educational program and exchange visits from private donations. Some $15,000 was collected in 1985-86.

[5] The Manitoba program was recently extended to 12 months.

[6] The budget figures are not strictly comparable, since some programs receive services charged against other budgets such as those of the Office of the Speaker or Clerk, and others do not.

Assessment

In general the programs have been outstandingly successful, by almost any measure, in meeting their objectives. As far as service to Members is concerned, all of the programs can produce testimonials to their programs from Members who have Interns. More revealing, however, is the fact that Members continue to apply for Interns in numbers far greater than the available supply. Members comment not only on the quality of assistance the Interns provide but also on the enthusiasm and fresh ideas they contribute. In addition, the continued financial support for the programs from the provincial legislatures is testimony to their popularity with Members. In Manitoba, after less than two years of operation the Legislature has agreed to extend the program from ten to twelve months. The pattern in Manitoba and Nova Scotia has been similar to that in the older programs: initial skepticism, especially on the government side, has given way to wholehearted support, as Members have become familiar with the work of the Interns.

The educational benefit to Interns can be assessed in a number of ways. Former Interns in the older programs have repeatedly testified—in letters, at alumni meetings, and in response to surveys—that the program was among the most stimulating and useful experiences of their lives. Many have echoed the comment of Howard Aster, a Federal Intern who became a professor of political science, that "I have learned more about politics during the past ten months than... in the past five years of university study". A 1982 Ontario survey found that virtually all the program's graduates were either employed in positions where they could apply the knowledge gained in their internship or engaged in advanced study in related fields. The same is undoubtedly true for the other programs.

The impact of the programs on parliamentary reform is more difficult to discern. Reform has a momentum of its own, independent of the internship programs. However, the Interns have helped to raise the profile of Private Members and it is possible to cite numerous instances where Private Members were able to raise issues or influence policies as a result of the work of their Interns. In addition, a number of former Interns are now employed in non-partisan positions at the various legislatures. With respect to public education, the best evidence lies in the career patterns of former Interns. While full lists were not available for all programs, general patterns can be discerned. For example, taken together the programs have educated a number of journalists and academics who are directly involved in public education. There are former Interns in the media right across the country, including former federal Intern Jeffery Simpson, national affairs columnist for The Globe and Mail and his colleague, Christopher Waddell, a

Total Budget[6] *($)*	*Administered by*
165,000	Director appointed by CPSA
180,000	Office of the Speaker and an Academic Director
67,000	Office of the Speaker and an Academic Director
142,000	Academic Director appointed by Administration Committee of Program
87,500	Academic Director appointed by Administration Committee of Program
27,000	Academic Director appointed by Select Committee on Procedure

former Ontario Intern, and journalists at the CBC (French and English), The Toronto Star, The Wall Street Journal and many others. The programs have also provided practical education for at least a dozen university professors including Katherine Swinton, Associate Dean of Law at the University of Toronto, and a number of political scientists, as well as faculty in economics, business and other disciplines. Several former Interns have written important books and scholarly articles on legislative and political issues. These include a study of the short-lived Clark government, Discipline of Power by Jeff Simpson a former Federal Intern, and a book by former B.C. Intern, David J. Mitchell, WAC Bennett and the Rise of British Columbia. In addition, former Interns are pursuing advanced studies at leading Canadian universities and at Harvard, Oxford, Cambridge and Cornell, among other places. At least two have taken up Rhodes Scholarships.

Quite a number of Interns from all the older programs have become civil servants, helping to ameliorate bureaucratic ignorance of the legislative process and legislative officials. In addition, a great many have spent at least brief periods as aides to ministers, while others have worked as caucus researchers and political organizers. To date only two former Interns that we know of have been elected to public office, though a number have run. The Mayor of Victoria is a former B.C. Intern and Judy Wasylycia-Leis, appointed Minister of Culture, Heritage and Recreation in Manitoba in April, 1986, is a graduate of the federal program.

In recent years the fastest growing employment areas have been in the professions and the private sector. Quite a number are practicing law, many of them in areas of law where an understanding of government is crucial. A growing number have entered the private sector, usually in government-business relations or consulting. Among these are former Federal Interns Peter Washburn of Northern Telecom and Michele Massey of Decima, as well as former Ontario Interns Peter McBride, Director of Public Relations for Falconbridge, John Wright of Advance Planning and Communications, Nick Marrone of Bell Canada, and Marilyn Domagalski of The Coopers and Lybrand Consulting Group. Some, such as Tema Frank, a former Federal Intern, are providing expertise on the political process to groups like the Canadian Bankers' Association. A number are employed by labour unions as researchers or government relations specialists.

Perhaps the strongest evidence of the success of the programs is their survival—in the face of an economic recession and government spending restraints. The caucuses and their Members continue to request Interns. Professors continue to suggest the program to their best students, and candidates of outstanding quality continue to suggest the program to their best students, and candidates of outstanding quality continue to apply. Two new programs have been established in recent years and two other legislatures are considering programs. The Québec program is expected to resume, perhaps in expanded form, for 1987-88. In addition, sponsors continue to fund the Federal program and provide supplementary funding in Ontario. Sponsors also continue to make favourable comments on the two CPSA programs and, especially, to note the high quality of the former Interns they have hired. Programs that can satisfy students, professors, Members of Parliament, and sponsors must be doing something right.

Frederick J. Fletcher is Associate Professor of Political Science at York University and Academic Director of the Ontario Legislature Internship Program.

Ruth Flynn is a former Ontario Legislative Intern and is currently completing her M.A. in Political Science at the University of Western Ontario.

Election Results

ELECTION RESULTS

The Impact of Recent Elections on Canadian Provincial Legislatures

In past editions of *Canadian Legislatures* the Editors have analyzed the results of the elections which have occurred over the previous year. The electorate in six jurisdictions have gone to the polls over the past fourteen months and in this Edition we consider the results of elections in Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. As well, a provincial general election was held in Québec on December 2, 1985. The results are considered in detail in this Edition of *Canadian Legislatures*.

Statistical information on the personal profiles of elected Members of each provincial legislature is obtained from the various party caucuses and Canadian legislatures across the country. This information is supplemented by the biographical sketches contained in the Canadian Parliamentary Guide edited by Pierre Normandeau. In some cases the available information is vague or conflicting in which case the Editors have used their best judgement in assigning Members to the various categories used in the analysis.

General Overview

There was a significant change in all six jurisdictions which experienced elections in the last year. All provinces witnessed the resurgence of the Liberal Party in provincial politics. In Québec and Prince Edward Island, both government parties were defeated by significant Liberal majorities. In Saskatchewan and Manitoba, the Liberals more than doubled their percentage of the popular vote and secured one seat in the Legislature. In Alberta the Liberals elected four Members to the Legislative Assembly and increased their percentage of the popular vote from 1.8% in the 1982 election to 12.2% in 1986.

Incumbent governments were re-elected in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, but with varying majorities. The New Democrats were returned to power in Manitoba, with a slightly reduced plurality. In Saskatchewan the Conservatives were re-elected, but with a smaller majority. They won 38 seats, down from 54 in the 1982 election and received slightly less of the popular vote than did the NDP. Albertans, with a tradition of electing overwhelming majorities, voted in this election for a stronger opposition. The Conservatives, under the new leadership of Don Getty, won 61 seats in an expanded 83-seat legislature; a decrease from 75 seats in the 1982 election. The big winner was the New Democratic Party which received almost one third of the popular vote and secured 16 of 22 opposition seats.

In British Columbia, the Social Credit Party, also under new leadership, returned to power with a significantly larger majority. The New Democratic Party elected the same number of Members as in 1983, but the Socreds, with William Vander Zalm as leader, captured the 12 new ridings in an expanded 69 seat Legislature and thereby, substantially increased their party standing.

In general, voter turnout was high in all jurisdictions. In Prince Edward Island, approximately 88% of the eligible voters cast their ballot, with 82% voter turnout in Saskatchewan. Alberta, on the other hand, experienced the lowest voter turnout in its history and the lowest turnout of any Canadian provincial election. Only 47% of eligible voters cast their ballot.

An overview of Members' biographical information in the six provincial jurisdictions

reveals several interesting comparisons. In Québec, Alberta and British Columbia, a relatively high percentage of Members (approximately 50%) are newly elected. The average length of service for Members in the six legislatures studied is approximately five years.

The average age of Members in the six jurisdictions is 46.7 years. The youngest average age of Members is in Québec (43.6 years) and the oldest is in British Columbia (49.4 years).

A comparison of professional backgrounds, reveals that in Québec, Alberta and British Columbia, the highest proportion of Members come from business backgrounds. In Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan the majority of Members are farmers whereas in Manitoba the majority are teachers.

On average, 72% of Members in each legislature have post-secondary education. Below this average figure is Prince Edward Island at 56% and above the average is Québec at 95%. Québec also has the highest proportion of Members with post-graduate degrees at 57% followed by Alberta with 34%.

British Columbia remains the jurisdiction with the highest proportion of Members with previous municipal experience. One-third of its Members have had political experience at the local level.

With the exception of Saskatchewan where the number of female Members remains the same, all provinces experienced an increase in the number of women elected. In the six legislatures analyzed, women represent an average of 11.5% of all Members. This is an increase from 8.3% over the last election.

Québec currently has the highest number of female Members in Canada. A record eighteen women were elected in the 1985 election and women comprise approximately 15% of the National Assembly. Alberta has the second highest number of women in the Legislature. As a result of the 1986 election the number of women elected has increased from six to ten.

QUEBEC

Election Date: December 2, 1985
Date of Previous Election: April 13, 1981
Voter Turnout 1985: 75.7%

On December 2, 1985 Premier Robert Bourassa led the Liberal Party to a landslide victory over the incumbent Parti Québecois, but experienced personal defeat in the South Shore riding of Bertrand. It was the first time in Québec provincial political history that voters elected a party but rejected the leader. Premier Bourassa was subsequently elected in a byelection on January 20, 1986.

The Liberals received an overwhelming majority. The Party elected 99 Members, achieved 56% of the popular vote and reduced the Parti Québecois to 23 seats in the National Assembly, a decrease from 80 seats in 1981.

Years of Service

There has been a dramatic increase in newly elected Members and they comprise just over 50% of the Members of the National Assembly. Less than one-fifth of MNAs have served in the Assembly for six or more years. The average length of service is 3.5 years, a decrease from 4.3 years for Members elected in 1981.

Age of Members

After the 1985 election the average age of Members in the National Assembly was 43.6 years compared to 44 years after the 1981 election. Seventeen Members or 14% are less than 34 years of age. Over 40% of Members were between the ages of 35 and 44 and a further 33% were between 45 and 54 years of age. Unlike other Canadian legislatures, Québec has no Members over the age of 65.

Professional Background

The majority or approximately 40% of Members in the present House are from the private sector (i.e. owners/entrepreneurs and administrators). In comparison with the previous election, there is a substantial increase in Members with business backgrounds and there are fewer Members with employment backgrounds from the public sector (i.e. education and government). At the same time, the number of lawyers in the National Assembly has doubled from 8 to 16 while only one Member has a farming background.

Educational Background

Just over 95% of the current group of Québec MNAs have post-secondary education up from the 89% of MNAs in the previous House. Approximately 57% of the Members have obtained post-graduate degrees down from the 64% of the Members elected in the 1981 election.

Previous Political Experience

Just under 19% of the Members of the National Assembly have previous experience in municipal politics. This is up from the 14% of Members elected in the 1981 election.

Female Members

Québec currently has the highest number of female Members in Canada. A record eighteen women were elected in the 1985 election and currently comprise approximately 15% of the National Assembly. Four women have been appointed to cabinet. Female membership has more than doubled since the 1981 election when 8 women were elected.

Table A PARTY STANDING AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULAR VOTE—QUEBEC

	1985 Election		*1981 Election*	
	Party Standing	*Percentage of Popular Vote*	*Party Standing*	*Percentage of Popular Vote*
Liberal	99	(56.0)	42	(46.0)
Parti Québecois	23	(38.7)	80	(49.3)
Other	0	(5.3)	0	(4.7)
TOTAL SEATS	122	(100.0)	122	(100.0)

Table B YEARS OF SERVICE—QUEBEC

Years of Service	*1985 Election*
Newly Elected, 1985	64 (53.3%)
1-5 years	36 (29.5%)
6+ years	22 (18.2%)

Table C AVERAGE AGE OF MEMBERS—QUEBEC

Age	*1986 Election*
25-34	17 (13.9%)
35-44	51 (41.8%)
45-54	40 (32.8%)
55-64	14 (11.5%)
65+	0 (0.0%)

Table D PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND—QUEBEC

Profession	*1985 Election*	*1981 Election*
Business	48 (39.3%)	26 (21.3%)
Law	16 (13.1%)	8 (14.8%)
Education	24 (19.7%)	37 (30.3%)
Farming	1 (0.8%)	4 (3.3%)
Government	7 (5.7%)	15 (12.3%)
Other	26 (21.3%)	22 (18.0%)

Table E EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND—QUEBEC

Education Level	*1985 Election*	*1981 Election*
Secondary	6 (4.9%)	10 (8.2%)
Post-Secondary	46 (37.7%)	30 (24.6%)
Post-Graduate	70 (57.4%)	78 (63.9%)
No Information	—	4 (3.3%)

Table F MEMBERS WITH PREVIOUS POLITICAL EXPERIENCE—QUEBEC

Category	*1985 Election*	*1981 Election*
Municipal	23 (18.9%)	17 (13.9%)
Federal	—	—

Table G FEMALE MEMBERS—QUEBEC

	1985 Election	*1981 Election*
Female Members	18 (14.8%)	8 (6.6%)

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Election Date: April 21, 1986
Date of Previous Election: September 22, 1982
Voter Turnout 1986: 80%

On April 21, 1986 Joseph Ghiz's Liberal Party defeated the incumbent Conservative Government in an election victory that cost the former Premier James Lee his own seat. The Liberal Party swept 21 of the 32 seats in the provincial Assembly, a margin of victory identical to Mr. Lee's victory in the general election in 1982. The Liberals received 50% of the popular vote as compared to 46% for the Conservatives and 4% for the NDP. This most recent election gives Canada its third provincial Liberal Government since the election of the Conservatives federally.

Years of Service

There were nine newly elected Members in the Prince Edward Island Legislature after the 1986 election. Thirteen or 41% of the Members have been in the House for more than six years. The average Member has served just less than six years. In contrast, after the 1981 election Members had served an average of five years.

Age of Members

The average age of Members is currently 48, an increase of two years from the average age after the 1981 election. Only one Member is less than 34 years of age and fully two-thirds are between the ages of 35 and 54.

Professional Background

The largest proportion of Members are farmers, comprising almost half of the present House. This figure is followed by those with backgrounds in education (23%) and business (16%). In comparison with the Members elected after the 1981 election, there is currently a higher proportion of Members with farming backgrounds while those with business backgrounds have decreased.

Educational Background

The majority of Members of the Prince Edward Island Legislature have post-secondary education (55%), while the remainder have secondary school education (45%). The number of Members with post-graduate degrees has actually decreased from the number elected in 1982, from seven to five.

Previous Political Experience

Four Members have had previous municipal experience compared with six Members in the 1982 election. As in the previous House there is one Member with previous federal experience.

Female Members

The Liberals elected one woman to the P.E.I. Legislature in the 1986 election, together with the two Progressive Conservative incumbents. The newly elected Liberal woman has been appointed to the Cabinet.

Table A PARTY STANDING AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULAR VOTE – PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

	1986 Election		*1982 Election*	
	Party Standing	*Percentage of Popular Vote*	*Party Standing*	*Percentage of Popular Vote*
Liberal	21	(49.4)	11	(44.5)
Conservative	11	(44.7)	21	(52.2)
NDP	–	(3.9)	–	(0.4)
Other	–	(2.0)	–	(2.9)
TOTAL	32	(100.0)	32	(100.0)

Table B YEARS OF SERVICE—PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Years of Service	*1986 Election*
Newly Elected, 1986	9 (28.3%)
1-5 years	10 (31.2%)
6 + years	13 (41.9%)

Table C AVERAGE AGE OF MEMBERS—PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Age	*1986 Election*
25-34	1 (3.1%)
35-44	10 (31.3%)
45-54	10 (31.3%)
55-64	9 (28.1%)
65+	2 (6.3%)

Table D PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND—PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Profession	*1986 Election*	*1982 Election*
Business	5 (15.6%)	9 (28.1%)
Law	3 (9.4%)	3 (9.4%)
Education	7 (21.8%)	6 (18.8%)
Farming	15 (46.9%)	10 (31.2%)
Government	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Other	2 (6.3%)	4 (12.5%)

Table E EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND—PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Education Level	*1986 Election*	*1982 Election*
Secondary	14 (43.8%)	13 (40.6%)
Post-Secondary	12 (37.6%)	7 (21.9%)
Post-Graduate	5 (15.6%)	7 (21.9%)
No Information	1 (3.1%)	5 (15.6%)

Table F MEMBERS WITH PREVIOUS POLITICAL EXPERIENCE—PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Category	*1986 Election*	*1982 Election*
Municipal	4 (12.5%)	6 (18.8%)
Federal	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)

Table G FEMALE MEMBERS—PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

	1986 Election	*1982 Election*
Female Members	3 (9.4%)	2 (6.3%)

MANITOBA

Election Date: March 19, 1986
Date of Previous Election: November 17, 1981
Voter Turnout 1986: 57.9%

On March 19, 1986 Premier Howard Pawley's New Democratic Party was returned to power with a majority Government. The NDP margin of victory was slightly reduced from the 1981 election, with the Progressive Conservatives gaining three seats. The big surprise was the growth in popularity of the Liberals, who elected their leader Sharon Carstairs, and more than doubled their percentage of the popular vote since the last election.

Years of Service

There are 18 newly elected Members and they comprise approximately one-third of the House. Twenty-six percent or 15 Members have served for six or more years. The average Member has served 5.7 years. In the previous House, Members served an average of 5.5 years.

Age of Members

Currently there are four Members that are less than 34 years of age. Thirty-five percent or 20 Members are between the ages of 35 and 44. The average age of Members in the present House is 46.9 years. In the previous House, the average age was 44.7 years.

Professional Background

The majority of Members are either teachers (23%) or farmers (21%). There has been an increase in Members with business backgrounds since the 1981 election and a small decrease in the number of Members with a legal background.

Educational Background

Approximately one-third of the Members have either secondary, post-secondary or post-graduate education. There has been no appreciable change since the 1981 election.

Previous Political Experience

There are ten Members (17.5%) in the current House with previous municipal experience. This is a decrease from 17 Members following the 1981 election. No Manitoba Members elected in 1986 have previous experience in Federal politics as was the case after the 1981 election.

Female Members

Manitoba has experienced an increase in the number of female Members. Significantly, a newly elected Member, Sharon Carstairs, is also the leader of the provincial Liberal Party. Furthermore, four women were appointed to cabinet portfolios which makes Manitoba one of the jurisdictions with the largest number of female cabinet ministers.

Table A PARTY STANDING AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULAR VOTE—MANITOBA

	1986 Election		*1981 Election*	
	Party Standing	*Percentage of Popular Vote*	*Party Standing*	*Percentage of Popular Vote*
NDP	30	(41.4)	34	(47.2)
Conservatives	26	(40.4)	23	(44.0)
Liberals	1	(13.9)	—	(6.7)
Other	—	(4.3)	—	(2.1)
TOTAL SEATS	57	(100.0)	57	(100.0)

Table B YEARS OF SERVICE—MANITOBA

Years of Service	*1986 Election*
Newly Elected, 1986	18 (31.6%)
1-5 years	20 (35.1%)
6 + years	15 (26.3%)
No Information	4 (7.0%)

Table C AVERAGE AGE OF MEMBERS—MANITOBA

Age	*1986 Election*
25-34	4 (7.0%)
35-44	20 (35.1%)
45-54	15 (26.3%)
55-64	11 (19.3%)
65+	1 (1.8%)
No Information	6 (10.5%)

Table D PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND—MANITOBA

Profession	*1986 Election*	*1981 Election*
Business	10 (17.5%)	7 (12.3%)
Law	6 (10.5%)	8 (14.0%)
Education	13 (22.8%)	11 (19.3%)
Farming	12 (21.1%)	9 (15.8%)
Other	9 (15.8%)	17 (29.8%)
No Information	7 (12.3%)	5 (8.7%)

Table E EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND—MANITOBA

Education Level	*1986 Election*	*1981 Election*
Secondary	19 (33.3%)	17 (29.8%)
Post-Secondary	16 (28.1%)	17 (29.8%)
Post-Graduate	16 (28.1%)	20 (35.1%)
No Information	6 (10.5%)	3 (5.3%)

Table F MEMBERS WITH PREVIOUS POLITICAL EXPERIENCE—MANITOBA

	1986 Election	*1981 Election*
Municipal	10 (17.5%)	17 (29.8%)
Federal	—	—

Table G FEMALE MEMBERS—MANITOBA

	1986 Election	*1981 Election*
Female Members	8 (14.3%)	6 (10.5%)

ALBERTA

Election Date: May 8, 1986.
Date of Previous Election: November 2, 1982
Voter Turnout 1986: 47.3%

The Progressive Conservative Party under the new leadership of Premier Donald Getty, succeeded in capturing 51% of the popular vote and 61 seats in an expanded 83 seat Legislature. Four years earlier, Peter Lougheed's team received 62% of the popular vote and won 75 seats in the 79 seat Legislative Assembly.

Albertans with a tradition of electing overwhelming majorities, voted in this election for a stronger opposition. The New Democratic Party under the leadership of Raymond Martin won 16 of 22 Opposition seats and received almost 30% of the popular vote. This is a substantial increase over the 1982 election when the New Democrats received 18% of the popular vote and elected two Members, including former party leader Grant Notley who was killed in an airplane crash in 1984. The opposition will also include four Liberal Party Members, the first Liberals elected since 1968 and two incumbent Representative Party MLAs.

Only 47% of the eligible voters cast ballots in Alberta's May election, the lowest turnout in Alberta's history and the lowest turnout in any Canadian provincial election. Political analysts believe that the Conservative losses were due to the traditional Tory vote staying home on election day, while the NDP and Liberal parties encouraged their supporters to cast their ballot.

Years of Service

Newly elected Members currently comprise almost 50% of the House. 31 MLAs or 37% have served the House for six years or longer. The average years of service is 5.7 years. In the previous House the average years of service was 5.5 years.

Age of Members

Seven Members are less than 34 years of age. Twenty Members or 24% are between the ages of 35-44. The average age of the present Members in the Legislative Assembly is 47.8. In the previous House the average age was 48.2.

Professional Background

The current House is comprised mainly of businessmen (26%), farmers (20%) and teachers (19%). There has been a decrease in the number of businessmen since the last election, but an increase in the number of other professionals.

Educational Background

Approximately 79% of elected Members in Alberta have post-secondary education. Of these 44% have obtained post-graduate degrees.

Previous Political Experience

Approximately 20% of the Members in the Alberta Legislature have had previous municipal experience. This is down from 34% in the 1982 election. There are two Members with previous federal experience including Peter Elzinga a former President of the Federal Progressive Conservative Party and currently Minister of Agriculture.

Female Members

Women currently comprise 12% of the Legislative Assembly, with four women appointed as cabinet ministers. The number of women has increased from six to ten Members since the last election.

Table A PARTY STANDING AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULAR VOTE—ALBERTA

	1986 Election		*1982 Election*	
	Party Standing	*Percentage of Popular Vote*	*Party Standing*	*Percentage of Popular Vote*
Conservatives	61	(51.4)	75	(62.3)
NDP	16	(29.2)	2	(18.8)
Liberals	4	—(12.2)	—	(1.8)
Representative Party	2	(5.1)	—	—
Independent	—	—	2	(3.9)
Other	—	(2.1)	—	(13.2)
TOTAL SEATS	83	(100.0)	79	(100.0)

Table B YEARS OF SERVICE—ALBERTA

Years of Service	*1986 Election*
Newly Elected, 1986	41 (49.4%)
1-5 years	11 (13.3%)
6 + years	31 (37.3%)

Table C AVERAGE AGE OF MEMBERS—ALBERTA

Age	*1986 Election*
25-34	7 (8.4%)
35-44	20 (24.1%)
45-54	36 (43.4%)
55-64	18 (21.7%)
65+	2 (2.4%)

Table D PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND—ALBERTA

Profession	*1986 Election*	*1982 Election*
Business	22 (26.5%)	29 (36.7%)
Law	9 (10.8%)	9 (11.4%)
Education	16 (19.3%)	13 (16.5%)
Farming	17 (20.5%)	16 (20.3%)
Other Professionals	19 (22.9%)	12 (15.1%)

Table E EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND—ALBERTA

Education Level	*1986 Election*	*1982 Election*
Secondary	19 (22.9%)	17 (21.5%)
Post-Secondary	36 (43.4%)	31 (39.3%)
Post-Graduate	28 (33.7%)	29 (36.7%)
No Information	—	2 (2.5%)

Table F PREVIOUS POLITICAL EXPERIENCE—ALBERTA

Category	*1986 Election*	*1982 Election*
Municipal	17 (20.5%)	27 (34.2%)
Federal	2 (2.4%)	—

Table G FEMALE MEMBERS—ALBERTA

	1986 Election	*1982 Election*
Female Members	10 (12.0%)	6(7.6%)

SASKATCHEWAN

Election Date: October 20, 1986
Date of Previous Election: April 26, 1982
Voter Turnout 1986: 81.5%

The Conservatives won a reduced majority in the October 20th election, making Grant Devine the first Conservative Leader to gain his party's re-election in the Province's history. The Conservatives elected 38 Members down from 54 Members in 1982. The New Democrats under Leader Allan Blakeney secured 25 seats, and the new Liberal Leader, Ralph Goodale won the single seat for his Party.

Despite their majority in the House, the Conservatives received marginally less in the popular vote than the New Democrats. The NDP received just over 45% of the popular vote, whereas the PCs had 44.6% and the Liberals 9.9%.

The election confirmed the widening split between rural and urban Saskatchewan. The NDP won the majority of the seats in Saskatoon and Regina while the Tories were victorious in the rural, agricultural areas.

Saskatchewan, has one of the highest voter turnout in provincial elections in Canada. Over 80% of eligible voters cast their ballots in the 1986 election.

Years of Service

Approximately one-third of the present House consists of newly elected Members and the average length of service of Members is 4.9 years. In the previous session the average length of service was 2.6 years.

Age of Members

Five Members are less than 34 years of age with 28 Members or 44% between the ages of 35 and 44. The average age of elected Members is 44.6 years. In the previous House, the average age was 41.2.

Professional Background

Almost 30% of elected Members are farmers and 25% are teachers, followed by Members with business backgrounds at 17%. Since the 1982 election there has been a significant increase in the number of teachers and a decrease in those with business backgrounds.

Educational Background

Since the last election there is a significant increase in Members with both post-secondary and post-graduate education. Two-thirds of the current Members have post-secondary education with 42% of them having post-graduate degrees.

Previous Political Experience

Seven Members or 11% have had previous municipal experience and one Member has had previous federal experience.

Female Members

A total of five female Members were elected comprising 7.8% of the Legislative Assembly. The New Democrats elected three women candidates, the most women MLAs ever in its Caucus and the first women elected since 1964. The two female Conservative Members were appointed to cabinet portfolios. In the 1982 election five women were elected.

Table A PARTY STANDING AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULAR VOTE—SASKATCHEWAN

	1986 Election		*1982 Election*	
	Party Standing	*Percentage of Popular Vote*	*Party Standing*	*Percentage of Popular Vote*
Conservatives	38	(44.6)	55	(54.1)
NDP	25	(45.2)	9	(37.6)
Liberals	1	(9.9)	0	(4.4)
Other	—	(0.3)	—	(3.8)
TOTAL MEMBERS	64	(100.0)	64	(100.0)

Table B YEARS OF SERVICE—SASKATCHEWAN

Years of Service	*1986 Election*
Newly Elected, 1986	21 (32.8%)
1-5 years	24 (37.5%)
6+ years	19 (29.7%)

Table C AVERAGE AGE OF MEMBERS—SASKATCHEWAN

Age	*1986 Election*
25-34	5 (7.8%)
35-44	28 (43.8%)
45-54	23 (35.9%)
55-64	8 (12.5%)
65+	—

Table D PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND—SASKATCHEWAN

Profession	*1986 Election*	*1982 Election*
Business	11 (17.2%)	16 (25.0%)
Law	10 (15.6%)	7 (10.9%)
Education	15 (23.4%)	7 (10.9%)
Farming	19 (29.7%)	20 (31.3%)
Other	9 (14.1%)	8 (12.5%)
No Information	6 (9.4%)	—

Table E EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND—SASKATCHEWAN

Education Level	*1986 Election*	*1982 Election*
Secondary	22 (34.4%)	27 (42.2%)
Post-Secondary	24 (37.5%)	22 (34.4%)
Post-Graduate	18 (28.1%)	9 (14.0%)
No Information	—	6 (9.4%)

Table F MEMBERS WITH PREVIOUS MUNICIPAL EXPERIENCE—SASKATCHEWAN

	1986 Election	*1982 Election*
Municipal	7 (10.9%)	N/A
Federal	1 (1.6%)	N/A

Table G FEMALE MEMBERS—SASKATCHEWAN

	1986 Election	*1982 Election*
Female Members	5 (7.8%)	5 (7.8%)

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Election Date: October 22, 1986
Date of Previous Election: May 5, 1983
Voter Turnout 1986: Information Unavailable at Publication

Premier William Vander Zalm returned the Social Credit Party to power with an increased majority in the October provincial election. The Socreds won 47 seats and captured approximately 50% of the popular vote. In the 1983 election under the leadership of Premier William Bennett the Socreds won 35 of 57 seats.

The New Democratic Party won 22 seats and captured 43% of the popular vote. The NDP elected the same number of Members as in 1983 but the Socreds captured the 12 new ridings in an expanded 69-seat Legislature and thereby substantially increased their party standing.

Years of Service

Approximately 53% of the Legislative Assembly consists of newly elected Members. Seventeen Members or 27% have had six or more years of service at the Legislature. The average years of service for Members is 4.2 years down from 8.1 years in the previous House.

Age of Members

Three Members are less than 34 years of age while four Members are older than 65. Two-thirds of all Members are between the ages of 35-54. The average age of current Members in the Legislative Assembly is 49.4 years. The average age of Members in the previous House was 50.9 years.

Professional Background

There has been a substantial increase in Members with business backgrounds comprising almost 50% of the Legislative Assembly. Other professionals comprise about 30% of the House followed by lawyers and teachers who each make up nine percent.

Educational Background

Approximately 75% of all Members have post-secondary education, an increase from 54% in the previous House. Almost 30% of all Members currently have post-graduate degrees.

Previous Political Experience

There is quite a large percentage of Members with previous municipal experience. One-third of MLA's in the present House have had political experience at the local municipal level. Two Members have had previous federal experience.

Female Members

There were seven women elected in the 1986 election comprising approximately 10% of the Legislative Assembly. Two women have been appointed to cabinet positions. In the 1983 election six women were elected.

Table A PARTY STANDING AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULAR VOTE – BRITISH COLUMBIA

	1986 Election		*1983 Election*	
	Party Standing	*Percentage of Popular Vote*	*Party Standing*	*Percentage of Popular Vote*
Social Credit	47	(49.4)	35	(49.8)
NDP	22	(42.5)	22	(44.9)
Liberals	0	(6.7)	0	(2.7)
Other	–	(1.4)	–	(2.6)
TOTAL	69	(100.0)	57	(100.0)

Table B YEARS OF SERVICE – BRITISH COLUMBIA

Years of Service	*1986 Election*
Newly Elected, 1986	36 (52.2%)
1-5 Years	14 (20.3%)
6+ years	19 (27.5%)

Table C AVERAGE AGE OF MEMBERS – BRITISH COLUMBIA

Age	*1986 Election*
25-34	3 (4.3%)
35-44	20 (28.9%)
45-54	23 (33.3%)
55-64	14 (20.3%)
65+	4 (5.8%)
No Information	5 (7.2%)

Table D PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND – BRITISH COLUMBIA

Profession	*1986 Election*	*1983 Election*
Business	34 (49.3%)	13 (22.8%)
Law	6 (8.7%)	8 (14.0%)
Education	6 (8.7%)	7 (12.8%)
Farming	2 (2.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Other	21 (30.4%)	25 (43.9%)
No Information	–	4 (7.0%)

Table E EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND – BRITISH COLUMBIA

Education Level	*1986 Election*	*1983 Election*
Secondary	18 (26.1%)	26 (45.6%)
Post-Secondary	31 (44.9%)	18 (31.6%)
Post-Graduate	20 (29.1%)	13 (22.8%)

Table F MEMBERS WITH PREVIOUS POLITICAL EXPERIENCE – BRITISH COLUMBIA

	1986 Election	*1983 Election*
Municipal	23 (33.3%)	17 (29.3%)
Federal	2 (2.9%)	3 (5.3%)

Table G FEMALE MEMBERS – BRITISH COLUMBIA

	1986 Election	*1983 Election*
Female Members	7 (10.2%)	6 (10.5%)

THE CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE

An Overview of the House of Commons, Provincial and Territorial Jurisdictions

Two of the primary goals of *Canadian Legislatures* are to monitor developments in legislatures across the country and to collect and analyze legislative information so as to allow for meaningful comparisons across the country. In monitoring the development of legislatures in Canada, the Editors seek to identify trends in Members' remuneration, allowances and services. Similarly, an attempt is made to track the growth of Canadian legislatures and document some of the factors which contribute to this growth. Once the information is collected and distributed this allows Members, staff and other interested individuals to compare and contrast the situation of legislatures across Canada (and in recent years make comparisons with U.S. state legislatures). In this way, Members and staff can perhaps benefit from the experience of other jurisdictions.

An overall comparison of legislatures in Canada reveals that they operate in a number of different ways. In each jurisdiction Members have collectively designed their own unique procedures and structures. However change is one feature common to almost all Canadian jurisdictions, especially as the demands on Members increase and reform takes hold across the country.

Change has been a fairly constant feature in Canadian legislatures over the past two years. In the fourteen months prior to the publication of this edition of *Canadian Legislatures* there were six provincial elections in Canada. As outlined in the previous section, these elections have significantly changed the composition and character of provincial legislatures. The biggest change is, of course, in the partisan balance of the legislatures across the country. The Liberals have formed the government in Prince Edward Island and Québec and made important gains on the prairies. In Manitoba the NDP was re-elected, and the Party reinforced its status as the Official Opposition in Alberta. In Alberta and Saskatchewan, Progressive Conservative governments were re-elected, albeit with smaller majorities.

However, other important changes have resulted from these recent elections. For example, the number of female Members has increased, especially in Québec where women now hold 18 seats in the National Assembly. Similarly, there has been a large turnover with almost half the Members in Québec, Alberta and British Columbia being new to the legislature. Equally important is the fact that the indemnities and services provided to Members have changed appreciably in Nova Scotia, Alberta and Manitoba following the elections held in these provinces. As a result the legislative budgets in these jurisdictions have also increased.

Generally speaking what is the status of Canadian legislatures in 1986? One way of answering this question is to compare legislative information for 1986 with similar information for 1981. In this way it is possible to consider some of the changes which have occurred over the past five years.

The average remuneration of Canadian legislators has increased a modest four percent per year over the past five years from $30,069 in 1981 to $36,020 in 1986. In 1981 the remuneration of Members was indexed for inflation in nine of the 13 jurisdictions considered in this Study. Today there is no such indexing anywhere in Canada.

A second indicator of change is the amount of money allocated for legislative budgets across the country. In 1981 the total for the 13

Canadian jurisdictions was $221.9 million. In 1986 the total legislative budget was $361.6 million, an increase of 63%. The biggest increases have occurred in the legislative budgets of the House of Commons, Ontario, Québec, Alberta and Saskatchewan.

There are several factors which account for the increased legislative budgets, some of which are unique to the individual legislatures. In general the increases are due primarily to increases in the staff allocated to both Members and the Caucuses. In Saskatchewan for example, the total budget for Caucus operations including Caucus research was about $375,000 in 1981. In 1986 the comparable figure was approximately $510,000—an increase of over 35%. In Québec the total budget allocated to the party Caucuses in 1981 was just over $375,000. In 1986 the same budget was close to $560,000—an increase of almost 50% over 1981. In Ontario the increase is even more dramatic. Caucus budgets have increased from a total of over $2.5 million in 1981 to over $5 million in 1986—an increase of close to 90%. These dramatic increases in the budgets of party caucuses have allowed for the hiring of additional support and research staff. In Ontario the total number of staff employed by the caucuses has doubled over the past five years.

These large increases in the funding of the caucuses can be better understood if they are considered in light of the increased demands on Members of the legislature. As reforms are introduced and the role of the Private Member is enhanced, Members require increasing amounts of support to allow them to carry out their duties. In Québec and Ontario, for example, the Committee system has been expanded and enhanced and Members of Committees generally require high levels of research support. Similarly, in some of the smaller Canadian jurisdictions Members are increasingly serving on a full-time basis and make ever greater demands on the resources of their caucus.

Several other factors have increased legislative budgets across the country. In the case of Ontario and Saskatchewan where legislative budgets have increased over 1981 by 143% and 110% respectively, the introduction of electronic Hansard has been an important element of the increase. In most Canadian legislatures the introduction of word and data processing equipment has also added to legislative budgets, as has the development of computer networks in Ontario and the House of Commons.

The categories of legislative information presented in this edition of *Canadian Legislatures* are the same as those provided in 1985. However, it is important to outline the limits on the information being presented. Most of the data is obtained directly from staff in each jurisdiction. Every effort is made to ensure that the information is as complete and accurate as possible. There remains, however, the possibility that the data is not fully comparable insofar as each jurisdiction defines and classifies a bit differently. The House of Commons, for example, counts staff in terms of person-years whereas other jurisdictions count the actual number of persons employed and distinguishes between full-time, part-time, and sessional staff. Similarly, some jurisdictions require that Members pay for expenses while engaged in Committee work out of their per diem, while other jurisdictions allow Members to charge virtually all expenses against a separate expense allowance. Generally speaking, the Canadian information presented here is accurate but nuances such as the ones just mentioned must be kept in mind when analyzing the data for a given jurisdiction.

Canadian Legislatures

Legislative Information For 1986

MEMBERS' INDEMNITIES, SALARIES, ALLOWANCES AND BENEFITS

The manner in which Members are reimbursed for their work varies a great deal from one jurisdiction to the next. In each case the total remuneration is a combination of indemnities, salaries and allowances, but the actual mix of these sources is never the same.

It is for this reason that a fair and accurate comparison of Members' compensation must include the complete range of indemnities and allowances. The Editors have outlined particular categories of payments and benefits but this is only to allow readers to easily identify specific information.

Remuneration Entitlements

A comparison of the basic remuneration provided to Members, that is their basic indemnity and tax-free allowance, reveals a substantial variation. As indicated in Table 1 these two sources range from a low of $19,000 in the Northwest Territories to a high of $74,800 for Members of the House of Commons.

There is also a great deal of variation in the increases for 1986 over 1985. The highest increase for 1986 over 1985 was recorded in Nova Scotia where Members' basic remuneration went up by 21.7%. Moreover, in 1985 Nova Scotia Members also received a 6.3% increase in the combined total of their basic indemnity and tax-free allowance. This year's increase is, however, as a result of a change in the Committee fee structure from a flat rate to a per diem.

In New Brunswick, British Columbia, the Yukon, Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories, there were no increases. In two of these five jurisdictions there were increases in 1985. In Saskatchewan and the Yukon this is the second year in which the basic remuneration for Members has not changed. In British Columbia there has not been an increase since January 1982 when the indexing provision was removed.

Currently there are no jurisdictions in Canada which provide for indexing. In Newfoundland increases must be made by Order-in-Council based on increases given to the civil

Table 1 RANKING OF BASIC REMUNERATION PAID TO PRIVATE MEMBERS (SESSIONAL INDEMNITY PLUS TAX-FREE ALLOWANCE)

	1986 Figures	*1985 Figures*	*% Increase*
H of C	74,800	72,800	2.8%
QUE	50,290	48,536	3.6%
ONT	48,308	46,494	3.9%
NB	42,896	42,896	0%
BC	40,047	40,047	0%
NS	37,655	30,940	21.7%
NFLD	36,604	34,525	6%
MAN	36,204	34,872	3.8%
ALTA	33,034	31,460	5%
YUKON	31,833	31,833	0%
SASK	31,452	31,452	0%
PEI	23,800	22,800	4.4%
NWT	19,000	19,000	0%

Table 2 REMUNERATION FOR ELECTED MEMBERS

Category	*H of C*	*Nfld*	*P.E.I.*	*N S*	*N B*
Effective Date	*1 Jan 86*	*1 Apr 86*	*1 Jan 86*	*1 Jan 86*	*1 Jan 86*
PRIVATE MEMBERS					
Basic Indemnity	56,100	24,403	16,400	27,315	30,640
% increase during 1986	2.83%	6%	4.39%	31%	NIL
Tax-free Allowance	[1]18,700	[2]12,201	7,400	10,340	12,256
ADDITIONAL INDEMNITY FOR VARIOUS OFFICE HOLDERS					
Prime Minister	64,000	44,096	41,650	41,675	41,874
Minister with Portfolio	42,800	31,970	29,400	32,300	27,917
Minister without Portfolio	42,800	N/A	N/A	up to 32,300	20,938
Parliamentary Assistant	9,400	15,000	N/A	N/A	N/A
Opposition Leader	42,800	31,970	25,100	32,300	27,917
Third Party Leader	25,800	N/A	N/A	16,150	N/A
Speaker	42,800	31,970	9,400	32,300	20,938
Deputy Speaker	22,500	10,600	4,800	16,150	10,469
Deputy Chairman of Committee of Whole	9,400	5,300	N/A	N/A	N/A
Standing Committee Chairmen	N/A	5,000	N/A	N/A	N/A
Standing Committee Vice Chairmen	N/A	4,000	N/A	N/A	N/A
Deputy Government House Leader	N/A	N/A	N/A	3,000	N/A
Opposition House Leader	21,000	15,900	N/A	2,000	N/A
Deputy Opposition House Leader	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Third Party House Leader	9,000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Chief Government Whip	11,700	5,000	N/A	3,676 ($85/Mem)	1,500
Assistant Government Whip	6,700	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Chief Opposition Whip	11,700	5,000	N/A	510 ($85/Mem)	1,500
Assistant Opposition Whip	6,700	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Chief Third Party Whip	6,700	N/A	N/A	255 ($85/Mem)	N/A
Assistant Third Party Whip	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Number of Members receiving more than basic indemnity	77 (27%)	30 (58%)	14 (44%)	52 (100%)	20 (34%)

[1]tax-free allowance is increased to $23,000 for 23 MPs and $24,700 for 3 MPs
[2]Members also receive travel allowance of $1,060 to $5,300 depending on distance to St. John's

Table 2 REMUNERATION FOR ELECTED MEMBERS

Qué	*Ont*	*Man*	*Sask*	*Alta*	*B C*	*N W T*	*Yukon*
1 Jan 86	*1 Apr 85*	*1 Apr 86*	*1 Jan 84*	*1 Jan 86*	*1 Jan 82*	*1 Apr 85*	*1 Apr 84*
41,800	36,166	24,136	20,968	25,526	26,698	18,000	22,854
3.5%	3.9%	3.8%	0%	5%	0%	Nil	Nil
8,490	12,142	12,068	10,484	7,508	13,349	1,000	[1]8,979 [2]11,427
54,340	44,591	26,511	37,656	47,769	36,480	52,160	29,634
37,620	26,499	20,531	28,327	38,896	31,283	52,160	23,707
33,440	13,306	15,548	28,327	27,592	N/A	N/A	N/A
8,360	8,187	2,500	6,907	N/A	[1]3,000	N/A	N/A
37,620	31,054	20,531	28,327	38,896	24,762	N/A	2,783
14,630	15,582	N/A	14,163	6,898	N/A	N/A	1,113
37,620	19,560	15,500	11,054	38,896	24,762	12,000	6,678
16,720	8,187	3,500	6,562	19,448	11,056	8,000	3,339
N/A	5,686	2,500	1,923	9,724	[2]2,000	6,000	N/A
10,450	4,434	N/A	1,923/sess.	N/A	N/A	3,000	2,226
8,360	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
8,360	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
14,630	10,121	2,500	1,923/sess.	N/A	1,500	N/A	N/A
6,950	7,619	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
6,950	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
14,630	10,121	2,500	3,206/sess.	N/A	2,000	N/A	N/A
6,950	6,936/	N/A	1,923/sess.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
12,540	6,936	2,500	3,206/sess.	N/A	1,500	N/A	N/A
6,950	5,003	N/A	1,923/sess.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
6,950	5,686	N/A	1,035/sess.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
N/A	4,549	N/A	517/sess.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
93 (76.2%)	70 (56%)	28 (49%)	48 (75%)	15 (18%)	33 (58%)	15 (63%)	10 (63%)

[1]in town Members
[2]out of town Members

service; in Ontario the increase is made by an amendment to statute; in Nova Scotia a review is conducted annually by an appointed Commission.

In analyzing the detailed remuneration for Members as outlined in Table 2, a number of observations can be made. In the House of Commons both the basic indemnity and the tax-free allowance increased by 2.8%. Similarly additional salaries to various office holders increased by 2-3%. In 1985, 82 or 29% of Members received an additional salary. In 1986 this was reduced by 5 to 77, or 27% of the Members.

In Québec although the basic indemnity was increased by 3.5% the tax-free allowance has been increased by 4.4% to $8,490. Similarly the additional salary paid to other office-holders has also been increased by 3.5%. The number of Members receiving additional salaries has increased from 81 to 93, or 76% of Members.

In Manitoba additional salaries to the Premier, Members of Cabinet and the Opposition Leader have been increased by 10-19%. In Alberta the increase follows that awarded to all Members, and is 5% for Members of Cabinet, the Leader of the Opposition, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker.

Finally, comparison of the numbers of Members who receive an additional salary reveals lows of 18% in Alberta and 27% in the House of Commons, and highs of 63% in the Yukon and Northwest Territories and 76% in Québec.

Committee Allowances

In 1986 Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Alberta, British Columbia and the Northwest Territories did not make any change to committee allowances. In five other jurisdictions – Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan, the Yukon, Ontario and the House of Commons – only minor changes have been made.

In Nova Scotia the payments made to Members for committee work have been changed from $1,700 per year to $100 per day for attendance at all committee meetings. Similarly the expense allowance has been increased to a range of $50 to $70 per day. In Manitoba the per diem payment has been increased from $50 to $75 and the Legislative Assembly continues to pay all expenses for accommodation, meals and travel.

In 1985 Québec was the only province which did not provide an expense allowance to Members for committee work. In 1986 allowances were introduced as set out by Order-in-Council. The Assembly pays for actual travel costs when the committee is sitting outside Québec City or for car travel at 27¢ per kilometre. Members are also allowed $100 per day for meals and accommodation.

An analysis of the per diems paid to Members for committee work reveals that none is paid in three jurisdictions – the House of Commons, New Brunswick and the Yukon – and range from a low of $50 per day in Newfoundland to a high of $160 per day in the Northwest Territories.

All jurisdictions provide an expense allowance to Members which is usually the actual amount of expenses, with a fixed maximum which is set highest in New Brunswick at $200 per day. However, in Prince Edward Island the allowance is limited to $10 per meeting day plus mileage at 27.9¢ per kilometre.

Table 3 COMMITTEE ALLOWANCES

a. per diem
b. expense allowance

H of C	*a.* none *b.* travel costs paid by House of Commons when Committee sitting outside Ottawa – expense allowances: (i) within Canada: $40 per day S. of 60th parallel; $45 N. of 60th parallel (ii) outside Canada: higher of $50 per day or decided by Speaker based on particular circumstances of city – capped at $70 per day – non-accountable
NFLD	*a.* $50 per day ($75 for Chairman) up to maximum of $2,000 ($3,000 for Chairman) for meeting days when House not sitting – restricted to Select Committees *b.* actual expenses for accommodation and travel on submission of receipts

PEI *a.* $75 per day when House not sitting
b. $10 per meeting day for meals on submission of receipts, plus mileage at 24.9¢ per km

NS *a.* none – $100 per day for attendance at all Committee meetings; established by BOIE - last revision 1985
b. $50 per day for meals, up to $70 per day for accommodation on submission of receipts

NB *a.* none – repealed in 1979
b. $200 per day non-accountable allowance for each day Committee meets, plus travel expenses; established by BOIE - last revision 15 July 1981

QUE *a.* $109 per day when House not sitting
b. actual travel costs when committee is sitting outside Québec City or mileage at 27¢ per km; $100 per day for meals and accommodation; established by order-in-council

ONT *a.* $65 per day ($76 for Chairman) for meeting and travelling days when House not sitting or when Committee is travelling whether or not House is sitting – last revision 1 April 1985
b. $27 per day non-accountable allowance - $38.30 outside Canada, plus travel and accommodation expenses on submission of receipts; established by BOIE

MAN *a.* $75 per day when House not sitting – or has been adjourned for four or more days – excluding Cabinet Ministers and Opposition Leader; established by statute – last revision 1986
b. expenses for accommodation, meals and travel as required

SASK *a.* $109 per day – tied to Industrial Composite Index – last revision 1 Jan. 1985
b. actual expenses for accommodation, meals and travel on submission of receipts

ALTA *a.* $100 per day when House not sitting – last revision 1983
b. actual expenses for meals, travel, taxi and laundry on submission of receipts; $75 per day for accommodation; established by statute

BC *a.* the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may prescribe a salary for committee members – in practice Members are not compensated for committee work
b. reasonable out-of-pocket, travel and other expenses

NWT *a.* $160 per day when House not sitting – outlined in statute – approved by Management and Service Board – usually once a year – last revision 1 April 1985
b. $140 per day non-accountable allowance for Members residing outside locality where Committee meeting being held; $40 per day if meeting held in Member's riding; established by statute

YUKON *a.* none
b. $38 per day for meals plus actual expenses for accommodation, plus travel expenses equivalent to rates paid to civil servants (26¢ per km for car or actual expenses for other modes of travel) – available only if Committee meets on day House not sitting

Accommodation Allowance

The House of Commons and Prince Edward Island remain the only jurisdictions which do not provide a specific accommodation allowance for Members. All the other provinces either set an annual accommodation allowance or pay a per diem rate.

Both Ontario and Québec set an annual maximum spending limit. In Ontario the accommodation allowance is $10,800 for Members and $11,800 for Ministers and Party Leaders. This represents a 9% increase over last year's amount. In Québec the annual accommodation allowance for eligible Members rose by 4% to $8,100.

The range of accommodation allowances for the remaining provinces which pay per diem rates is from $15-$30 per day in British Columbia to a high of $140 per day in the Northwest Territories. The average per diem rate is $67.

Nova Scotia and Newfoundland experienced the largest increases in accommodation allowances. In Nova Scotia the per diem rose by 28% from $50 to $70, while Newfoundland experienced a 26% increase to $75 per day.

In Saskatchewan the per diem increased marginally by 4% to $54. In the remaining provinces and territories the accommodation allowance remains unchanged.

Table 4	ACCOMMODATION ALLOWANCE
H of C	none
NFLD	Established by BOIE and reviewed on ad hoc basis: $75 per day when House sitting to a maximum of $6,000 per session; Member restricted to rental accommodation
P E I	none
N S	Established and reviewed by BOIE—last revision 1 Jan. 1985: up to $70 per day on submission of receipts
N B	Established and reviewed by BOIE (1972): $50 for accommodation and $35 for meals on days House sitting; Ministers are not eligible
QUE	Established and reviewed by BOIE: $8,100 per year; Member may rent or buy—allowance based on rental value
ONT	Established and reviewed by BOIE (1974)—last revision 1 April 1986: up to $10,800 for Members—$11,800 for Ministers and Party Leaders—Speaker provided with apartment in Legislative Building; Member may rent or buy—claims on owned accommodation restricted to specified operating expenses
MAN	Established by statute—revised 1986: $40 per day when House sitting—$65 per day if Member maintains residence in constituency and residence in Winnipeg (except if House adjourned for 10 or more days)—Speaker provided with apartment in Legislative Building
SASK	Established by statute (1972): $56 per day for Regina Members—$91 per day for other Members while House sitting—includes Speaker; tied to Industrial Composite Index
ALTA	Established by statute: $75 per day when House is sitting—$75 per day to maximum of 24 days per year when House not sitting—includes Speaker
B C	$15 per day for Members representing ridings within capital district or commuting distance of the capital—$30 per day for other Members; allowance is paid for the first 50 sitting days of the Legislature each calendar year
N W T	Established by statute (1985): $140 non-accountable allowance per day when House sitting; Member may rent or buy
YUKON	Actual expenses for accommodation plus $38 per day for meals when House sitting—no maximum—excludes Ministers; up to maximum of $4,400 per year when House not sitting or Members may rent to lease accommodation in Whitehorse up to a maximum of $400 per month plus up to maximum of $2,200 per year for meals—restricted to Private Members—Ministers whose constituencies are outside Whitehorse may claim actual expenses for accommodation plus $38 per day for meals

Travel Allowance

All jurisdictions provide some form of travel allowance for Members to travel between their constituencies and the legislature. The travel allowance includes specific provisions for air, bus, boat, train and air travel.

The most generous travel allowance is allocated in Alberta, where the travel allowance is unlimited. Members are issued an airline credit card and bus passes. The car allowance, however, is limited to a maximum of 52 trips between the constituency and the capital, and 25,000 kilometers of general travel within the Province.

The remaining jurisdictions have set limits on their travel allowances. The House of Commons, Québec, Ontario, Manitoba and Nova Scotia have set a maximum 52 return trips per year (once per week) by any mode of transportation. British Columbia allows 38 trips, Saskatchewan permits 35 and Newfoundland allocates 12 trips per year by any mode of transportation.

In Prince Edward Island, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, the travel allowance varies, according to whether or not the House is in session.

Most jurisdictions, except for Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and the Yukon, have a car allowance for travel within the constituency. This allowance is approximately 25¢ per kilometer.

In general, there were no significant

increases in travel allowances over the past year. The exception is the Province of Manitoba, which increased the number of round trips between the constituency and capital from 40 to 52 trips annually.

Table 5 TRAVEL ALLOWANCES

H of C Established and reviewed by BOIE—established 1963—last reviewed in February 1986: maximum 52 travel points per year for travel between Ottawa and constituency—10 of 52 may be used for travel to any place in Canada—3 of 10 may be used by spouse and/or designated family member—9 of 52 may be used by spouse, designated family member and or full-time eligible staff for travel to/from the constituency; an additional 12 points were allocated for travel by a spouse and or designated family members—these points are not transferable for any other purpose—9 of 12 points may be used for travel between Ottawa and the constituency—3 of 12 may be used for travel to any place in Canada; travel within constituency by road, water or air limited to between $1,260 and $6,310 per year depending on type of riding—restricted to Member; budgetary supplements ranging from $5,000 to $20,000 for larger constituencies

Specific Regulations:

Air: 1st class for Member (1 point deducted); spouse or designated family member may travel 1st class (1 1/2 points) or economy (1 point) - 1st class entitlement established 1980; economy class for staff

Bus or Boat: within allowance

Train: unlimited travel; Via Rail pass issued to Member and family; not included in 52 point entitlement unless meal and accommodation charges are claimed

Car: travel to and from Ottawa under the 52 point system at 23.6¢ per km to maximum of cost of round trip air travel; travel within constituency also at 23.6¢ per km to established maximum (see above)

NFLD Established and reviewed by BOIE: maximum 12 trips per year by any mode of transportation

Specific Regulations:

Air: economy class; established 1 Jan. 1980

Bus or Boat: within allowance

Train: no train service

Car: tied to civil service rates—21¢ per km—effective 1 April 1986; restricted to travel between constituency and capital—no allowance within constituency

PEI Established by statute: allowance restricted to car travel:

Members permitted 1 round trip and $10 meal allowance per sitting day + 3 round trips per month when House not sitting—tied to civil service rates—24.9¢ per km; restricted to travel between constituency and capital—no allowance within constituency

NS Established and reviewed by BOIE: maximum 52 trips per year by any mode of transportation—reimbursed on submission of receipts

Specific Regulations:

Air: economy class

Bus and Train: within allowance

Car: within allowance—25.2¢ per km; additional allowance of up to $2,000 for travel within constituency

NB Established 1972 by statute: maximum 25 trips per year by any mode of transportation while House not sitting; includes non-accountable expense allowance of $200 for each trip, plus travel expenses on submission of receipts; 1 return journey for each week or part of week while House in session

Specific Regulations:

Air: no requirement of economy class

Bus and Train: within allowance

Car: within allowance; tied to civil service rates—up to 7,000 kms at 23 1/2¢, 7,000—14,000 kms at 22¢, over 14,000 kms at 19 1/2¢, no travel allowance within constituency

QUE Established and reviewed by BOIE: first established 1969: maximum 52 trips per year by any mode of transportation, based on distance from capital to constituency—27¢ per km—includes accommodation expenses based on rates for civil servants; 10 additional trips may be obtained for Deputy Speaker, Opposition House Leader, Deputy House Leaders, Chief Government Whip, Chief Opposition

Table 5 TRAVEL ALLOWANCES

Whip, Assistant Whips, Standing Committee Chairmen and Vice Chairmen, BOIE Members
Specific Regulations:
Air: economy class; additional allowance of between $2,200 and $11,800 per year for travel within Quebec but outside constituency, depending on classification of riding
Bus and Train: within allowance; reimbursed on submission of receipts
Car: unlimited to & from constituency—27¢ per km; additional allowance of between $2,200 & $11,800 per year for travel within constituency, depending on classification of riding (excluding urban Members)

ONT — Established and reviewed by BOIE; by any mode of transportation; unlimited travel for Opposition Leaders within Province on legislative business; plus maximum of 12 round trips for spouse or family member by air, bus or train
Specific Regulations:
Air: maximum 52 trips per year for Members; up to 12 trips for business travel around Province; special unlimited travel allowance for 4 Northern Members, subject to approval of Speaker; economy class
Bus and Train: unlimited travel for Member
Car: unlimited both to and from capital and within constituency; 26¢ per km for Southern Members and 27¢ for Northern Members

MAN — Established by statute—revised in 1986: by any mode of transportation—overall travel entitlement based on value of 52 round trips per session between capital and constituency based on km rates payable to civil servants; includes travel within constituency
Specific Regulations:
Air: within allowance
Bus and Train: within allowance
Car: within allowance

SASK — Established by statute: by any mode of transportation—travel allowance based on formula: 35 x distance between largest centre in constituency and capital + *10,000 kms x civil service kilometric rate (*if constituency is greater than 2,000 square kms then increased to 30,000 kms)—not available to Cabinet Ministers, Speaker or Opposition Leader
Specific Regulations:
Air: special allowance for Northern Members—2 return trips per year by air from Member's residence to areas in constituency that can be reached by air
Bus: within allowance; bus passes issued
Train: within allowance
Car: within allowance

ALTA — Established and reviewed by BOIE; by any mode of transportation
Specific Regulations:
Air: unlimited travel; economy class; airline credit card issued
Bus: unlimited bus travel; bus passes issued
Train: no train travel
Car: maximum 52 trips between Member's residence or place of business or employment and capital, plus up to 25,000 kms per year of general travel within the Province

B C — Established by Speaker in 1978: by any mode of transportation—maximum 38 trips per year between constituency and capital; spouse may use any number—dependents may use up to 6 of 38—constituency secretary or assistant may use 1 of 38
Specific Regulations:
Air: economy class
Bus and Ferry: within allowance; bus and ferry passes issued
Train: within allowance
Car: additional allowance of up to $1,648 per year for travel within constituency ($2,060 for remote or interior/coastal constituencies)

NWT — Established by statute
Specific Regulations:
Air: year within constituency by chartered aircraft or economy class; 5 trips to capital/nearest regional headquarters when House not sitting
Member or designated person may take 1 economy round trip after 5 sitting days; 2 economy round trips after 20 sitting days; 3 economy round trips after 35 sitting days
Bus and Train: none

Car: up to 4,800 kms per year at 26¢ per km—includes to and from capital and within constituency; tied to civil service rates

YUKON Established by statute; unlimited travel while House is sitting; up to 24 return trips when House not sitting—restricted to Private Members—Ministers whose constituencies are outside capital may claim 12 return trips to their constituencies for travel on business as an M.L.A.
Specific Regulations:
Air: economy class
Bus and Train: none
Car: within allowance—26¢ per km—tied to civil service rate; no allowance for travel within constituency

Severance Allowance

In 1986 Ontario was the only province which changed the provisions for the payment of severance allowances to Members. The allowance was one-half the Member's annual indemnity whereas it is now calculated as one month's pay per year of service with a floor of six months and a ceiling of 12 months.

In the remaining jurisdictions where a severance allowance is paid to Members it varies from 1/4 of the sessional indemnity in Nova Scotia, to 1/2 of all indemnities and salaries in the House of Commons to a formula based on twice the monthly salary for each year of service in Québec. Federal Members who receive a pension for service as an MP cannot collect a severance allowance.

Pension Benefits

All jurisdictions in Canada provide former Members with a pension and, except for the Yukon and Northwest Territories, all Members contribute to a mandatory pension plan. The contribution level ranges from 11% of all indemnities and salaries in the House of Commons to 6.5% in Prince Edward Island. The average contribution level for all provinces and the House of Commons is 9.4%. These contribution levels remain unchanged from last year except for Ontario where Members contribute 10% of salaries and indemnities, an increase from 8.5% in 1985.

In most jurisdictions the Legislative Assembly matches the Members' contribution level. In the Yukon and Northwest Territories the Legislative Assembly fully funds Members' pensions.

The House of Commons, New Brunswick and Québec have no minimum age requirement for Members to receive their pension. In Prince Edward Island the minimum age requirement is 50 and in Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, the North west Territories and the Yukon, the minimum age requirement is 55. In Ontario and Manitoba the formula for minimum age is years of service plus age, for a total of 55, while in Newfoundland it is years of service plus age, for a total of 60.

The minimum service requirement to contribute to the pension plan ranges from one year of service in Saskatchewan to 10 parliamentary sessions in New Brunswick. The average minimum service requirement is approximately six years. In general, the pension calculation is based on the average salary of the highest five consecutive years of service. The maximum pension level is then calculated as 75% of this average salary figure.

For all jurisdictions the spousal benefit ranges from 50 to 60% of the Member's allowance, and up to 10% of the allowance for each dependent.

Table 6 PENSION BENEFITS

a. contribution level
b. minimum age requirement
c. minimum service requirement
d. basis of pension calculation
e. maximum pension level
f. post-retirement adjustment
g. spousal benefit

H of C *a.* mandatory contribution of 11% of basic indemnity; optional contribution of 11% of any additional indemnities or salaries (excluding tax free allowance), includes 1% contribution for supplementary benefits; contributions on basic indemnity cease when Member has earned full pensions (i.e. 15 years of pensionable service)

Table 6 PENSION BENEFITS

a. contribution level
b. minimum age requirement
c. minimum service requirement
d. basis of pension calculation
e. maximum pension level
f. post-retirement adjustment
g. spousal benefit

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b. no minimum age
c. minimum of 6 years service
d. average of highest 6 consecutive years
e. 75% of *d.*
f. indexed to rise in CPI—retired Members are not entitled to indexing until age 60—at age 60 retired Members receive benefit on a cumulative basis of all indexing awarded since date of their retirement
g. 60% of Member's allowance, plus 10% for each dependent child (subject to specified maxima)

NFLD

a. 7% of all indemnities and salaries (excluding tax-free allowance)—contributions matched by L.A.
b. age plus years of service = 60 (55 for Premier)
c. minimum of 5 years service and 2 general elections
d. highest 3-year average as Member—if Member serves as Minister then 2 separate calculations (i.e. highest 3-year average as Member plus highest 3-year average as Minister)
e. 75% of *d.*
f. requires amendment to statute
g. greater of 60% of Member's allowance or 25% of last pensionable earnings as MPP, plus 1/6 of allowance for each dependent child—total spousal allowance may not exceed level of allowance Member was receiving at time of death

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PEI

a. 6½% of all indemnities and salaries (including tax-free allowance)—L.A. contributes 35.75% (5 x Member's contribution)
b. age 50
c. 2 general elections or minimum of 8 years elected service
d. average of last 5 years as Member—Minister's pension cannot exceed 50% of highest year salary
e. 75% of contributions
f. indexed to rise in CPI—8% per year maximum
g. 50% of Member's allowance—no allowance for dependent children

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NS

a. 8% of all indemnities and salaries (including tax-free allowance)—contributions matched by Government
b. age 55
c. minimum of 5 years service and 2 general elections
d. highest 5-year average
e. 75% of *d.*
f. indexed to rise in CPI
g. 50% of Member's allowance—no allowance for dependent children

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NB

a. 9% of all indemnities (excluding tax-free allowance)—6% of Ministerial salary—contributions matched by L.A.
b. no minimum age
c. minimum of 10 sessions (Member may count military service as pensionable service if certain conditions met—each year of military service is equivalent to 1 legislative session)
d. highest 3-year average
e. cannot exceed sessional indemnity in effect at date of retirement—no maximum level on Ministerial portion, if applicable
f. indexed to rise in CPI—6% per year maximum
g. 50% of Member's allowance—no allowance for dependent children

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QUE

Old pension plan—available to Members who were elected before 1983 (they may choose between Old and New plan—generally they choose Old)
a. 10% of all indemnities (excluding tax-free allowance) up to amount of personal exemption under Q.P.P. + 8.2% of excess up to level of maximum pensionable earnings under Q.P.P. + 10% of remainder
b. no minimum age
c. 5 years service during 2 legislatures for Members elected prior to December 31, 1982
d. actual contribution multiplied by the number of months as Member (from 46,875% to a maximum 75%)
e. see *d.*
f. indexed yearly on January 1, according to P.C.I.

g. Member may elect to replace pension with life annuity, with benefit passing to surviving spouse; election must be made before pension begins; can be either 100% or 50% of Member's entitlement, adjusted accordingly by actuarial analysis

New pension plan—available to Members elected since 1 Jan. 1983

a. same as *a.* above
b. minimum age 60; reduced pension at age 55; Member must draw pension at age 71 even if still a Member
c. Members at age 60 with 5 years of contribution or years bought back; reduce pension at age 55
d. 4% of all indemnities (excluding tax-free allowance) by the number of years as Member (70% of highest 3-year average)
e. see *d.*
f. same as *f.* above
g. same as *g.* above

ONT

a. 10% of all indemnities and salaries (excluding tax-free allowance)—contributions matched by L.A.
b. age plus years of service = 55
c. minimum of 5 years of service
d. highest 36-month average
e. 75% of *d.*
f. Speaker has statutory authority to adjust existing pensions, subject to BOIE approval
g. the greater of 25% of the annual indemnity of the Member or 60% of Member's allowance, plus 10% for each dependent child to a maximum of 3 children

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MAN

a. 7% of all indemnities and salaries (including tax-free allowance)
b. age plus years of service = 55
c. minimum of 8 years service or 3 legislatures
d. average annual indemnity for the last 5 years or if less than 5 years service for the years served as a Member
e. 70% of *d.*
f. indexed to yearly rise in CPI—no maximum
g. 60% of Member's monthly allowance—no allowance for dependent children

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SASK

a. 9% of all indemnities and salaries (including tax-free allowance)—contributions matched by Government—Government increases contribution as sign-up age of member increases (adds 2% if Member between 41-50—adds 4% if Member 51 and older)
b. age 55—option for reduced pension at age 50
c. 1 year minimum service
d. Plan 1: formula style plan for Members prior to April 1, 1979—monthly allowance based on earnings and years of service

Plan 2: money purchase plan for Members elected on or plus earnings of the pension plan after April 1, 1979—purchased annuity based on contributions

e. no maximum level
f. automatically increased by amount equal to any increase awarded to retired civil servants
g. Plan 1: 60% of Member's pension

Plan 2: guaranteed Life Annuity and/or postponed guaranteed Life Annuity based on amount of contributions plus earnings of the pension plan

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ALTA

a. 7½% of indemnities (including tax-free allowance)—Ministerial salaries included—contributions matched by L.A.
b. 55 years; actuarially reduced pension may be granted before
c. 5 pensionable years service
d. 4% x average of 3 consecutive years of highest indemnity x years of service
e. 20 years
f. Lieutenant Governor in Council may periodically authorize adjustments
g. benefits to dependent children if no surviving spouse

BC

a. 9% of all indemnities and salaries (including tax-free allowance) to a maximum of $3,500 per annum—contributions matched by L.A.
b. minimum age 55 or age plus years of service = 60
c. 7 years or more than 2 parliaments
d. 5% x highest 4-year average legislative allowance x years of contributory service to a maximum of 16 years
e. no maximum
f. indexed to rise in CPI
g. calculated on same basis as a retirement pension

Table 6 PENSION BENEFITS

	a. contribution level
	b. minimum age requirement
	c. minimum service requirement
	d. basis of pension calculation
	e. maximum pension level
	f. post-retirement adjustment
	g. spousal benefit
NWT	*a.* fully funded by L.A. on behalf of Member—voluntary contribution permitted
	b. age 55
	c. minimum of 6 years service or life of 2 general elections
	d. 2% x the best 4 years average earnings x the number of years service
	e. 35 years
	f. indexed to rise in benefit index under Supplementary Retirement Benefit Act of Canada
	g. 60% of Member's allowance, plus 10% for each dependent child to maximum of 4 children
YUKON	*a.* no contribution by Member
	b. age 55
	c. 6 years
	d. basic indemnity plus tax-free allowance level at time of leaving office—excluding any additional indemnities or Ministerial salaries
	e. no maximum level
	f. requires statutory amendment
	g. lump sum payment equal to 15% of basic indemnity plus tax-free allowance in force at time of death, times number of years service

SUPPORT SERVICES FOR PRIVATE MEMBERS

The level of support services provided to Members of the legislature depends on the nature of the assembly in a given jurisdiction. In the House of Commons, Ontario and Québec, the House and/or committees meet virtually 12 months of the year and Members require a large number of services to assist them in their work. In some of the smaller legislatures, on the other hand, the House does not meet as often and the amount of committee work is somewhat less. In these cases, Members require a lower level of services. Notwithstanding the size of the legislature, all jurisdictions continue to expand the range of services available to Members.

Services at Legislature

Support Services at the legislature include office entitlements, staff allocations, mailing privileges and telephone service.

In the Yukon, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Ontario, Québec and the House of Commons, each elected Member is provided with a private office. For the remaining jurisdictions a block of offices is supplied to each caucus and office space is shared.

The House of Commons has the most generous allowance for staff in both Ottawa and constituency offices. A total of $100,400 is allocated, which provides each Member with support staff and a research assistant. This is a 3.5% increase over 1985. Ontario follows closely with an allocation of $94,625(up 4.0%), with Québec providing $77,900 (up 4.3%) for both the constituency and National Assembly offices.

The remaining provinces have support staff which is shared by caucus Members. This staff includes secretarial support and certain jurisdictions have research assistants assigned to each caucus.

Most jurisdictions have unlimited mailing privileges. The exception is Nova Scotia which limits its Members to an annual postage allowance of $3,000, a 28% increase since last year, and Prince Edward Island which restricts mailing entitlements to the days when the House is sitting. Members of the New Brunswick Legislature must charge mailing costs against caucus funding entitlements and in Saskatchewan the mailing allowance is based on the number of registered voters in the Member's constituency.

All jurisdictions have unlimited local and long distance telephone privileges. The Northwest Territories, however, limits long distance entitlements to when the House is in session.

Table 7 SUPPORT SERVICES AT LEGISLATURE

	a. office	*b. staff*	*c. office mail*	*d. telephone*
H of C	1 office per Member—space assigned by Party Whips in consultation with Sergeant-at-Arms; office supplies and equipment provided by H of C—includes word processor, up to 4 typewriters including two electronic memory typewriters and one self-correcting typewriter, photocopier, up to 2 television sets and dictating equipment—implementation of OASIS (Office Automation Services and Information Systems) for Members' Parliamentary and Constituency Offices	total allowance of $100,400 for both Ottawa and constituency offices—maximum of $80,300 for Ottawa—no restriction on numbers of staff; maximum salary of $39,155 for any staff member—		

Table 7 SUPPORT SERVICES AT LEGISLATURE

a. office
b. staff
c. office mail
d. telephone

	staff also receive annual vacation leave of either 4% or 6%, depending on length of service—staff are employees of Member—no union—Member's family cannot be hired; automatic telephone answering equipment or commercial typesetting service are charged to this allowance; budgetary supplements for larger constituencies *c.* unlimited volume—paid by H of C *d.* paid by H of C—unlimited access to direct dial Government phone network (Canada and U.S.)—credit cards issued for use outside Ottawa-Hull in specific circumstances—one telephone call per day to their Ottawa or constituency office when travelling outside Canada on official parliamentary business
NFLD	*a.* Premier, Ministers and Opposition Leader have separate offices—1 office for every 2 Private Members—space allocated by Speaker; supplies and equipment provided by Clerk's Office *b.* 1 secretary for every 2 Members—BOIE establishes entitlement; salary range is $15,478 to $16,727 for secretaries to Private Members and $19,946 to $24,951 for secretaries to Ministers and Opposition Leader—salary rates tied to civil service; staff are employees of L.A.—no union *c.* unlimited volume—restricted to legislative business *d.* unlimited regular and long distance—paid by L.A.; unlimited telex; credit cards issued
PEI	*a.* block of offices supplied to each caucus—space allocated by BOIE; office supplies provided by caucus; equipment provided by L.A. *b.* Government caucus has 2 secretaries; Opposition caucus has 2 secretaries and 1 researcher—entitlement established by BOIE; salary range for secretary is $16,610 to $25,215 and for researcher is $40,640—salary rate established by BOIE; staff are casual employees of L.A.—no union *c.* only when House is sitting *d.* unlimited regular and long distance paid by L.A.; no credit cards
NS	*a.* each caucus supplied with block of offices—space allocated by Speaker; supplies and equipment provided by L.A. *b.* each caucus given funds for secretarial purposes—number of employees is up to caucus; salary range is $20,152 to $23,193—range tied to civil service; employees are hired for 4 year term by L.A.—no union *c.* postage allowance of $3,000 per year per Member—paid by L.A. *d.* unlimited regular and long distance paid by L.A.; no credit cards
NB	*a.* each caucus supplied with block of offices—space allocated by BOIE; supplies and equipment provided by Clerk's Office *b.* each caucus has 4 employees (Government caucus—1 research officer, 3 secretaries; opposition caucus—2 research officers, 2 secretaries); salary range for secretary is $18,902 to $21,944 and for research officer $21,008 to $39,702—entitlement and salary range established by BOIE; employees of L.A.—no union *c.* charged to caucus allowances *d.* unlimited regular and long distance within New Brunswick; credit cards issued
QUE	*a.* 1 office per Member—space allocated by Speaker; furniture provided by Government department—supplies and equipment provided by L.A. *b.* Member has annual sum of $77,900 for hiring personnel—funding level established by BOIE—at least $26,100 must be used for Legislative office and remainder for constituency office; employees of Member, not civil servants—salary range determined by Member—no union *c.* unlimited volume—paid by Government *d.* unlimited regular and long distance paid by Government; credit cards issued
ONT	*a.* 1 office per Member—space allocated by Speaker; supplies and equipment provided by L.A.

b. Member has annual global sum of $94,625 for hiring personnel; no restriction on numbers of staff—salary range established by BOIE; employees of caucus—1 caucus is unionized
c. unlimited volume—paid by L.A.
d. unlimited regular and long distance—paid by L.A.; credit cards issued

MAN

a. each caucus supplied with block of offices—space allocated by Department of Government Services; Independent Members receive individual office; furniture and equipment provided by Government
b. 5 secretaries for each caucus; 1 secretary for Independent Member; salary range is $17,570 to $26,364—entitlement and salary range established by BOIE; employees of L.A.—no union
c. unlimited volume—paid by Government; three constituency householder mailings paid by L.A.
d. unlimited regular and long distance—paid by L.A.; credit cards issued

SASK

a. 1 office per Member—equipment and supplies provided by L.A.
b. secretarial services according to a formula: sessional—Government caucus—1/2.8 Private Members; Opposition caucus—1/2.65 Private Members; Third Party—1 secretary for 3 hours per day; inter-sessional—Government and Opposition caucuses—⅓ of sessional allotment; salary range for secretary is $19,260 to $22,656—no union. Caucuses are given research grant to hire staff and may set salary levels—if paid by L.A. benefits are those of civil servants—if paid by caucuses benefits are established by caucuses—no union
c. included in communications allowance, which is equal to 3 1st class letters x number of registered voters in Member's constituency
d. unlimited regular and long distance—paid by L.A.; no credit cards

ALTA

a. 1 office per Member—space allocated by Executive Council; equipment and supplies provided by Clerk's Office
b. 1 secretary per 2 Members—entitlement established by BOIE; salary range is $19,428 to $25,188—range tied to civil service; employees are civil servants but are hired only for the life of the parliament—no union
c. unlimited volume—paid by L.A.
d. unlimited regular and long distance—paid by L.A.; credit cards issued

BC

a. 1 office per Member—space allocated by Speaker; furniture supplied by Government; stationery and supplies provided by L.A.
b. each caucus receives global allowance to hire secretarial and research staff and for purchase of equipment; entitlement established by Speaker; number of employees and salary range established by caucus; employees of L.A.—no union
c. unlimited volume—paid by Government
d. unlimited regular and long distance—paid by L.A.; credit cards issued for use within Province

NWT

a. 1 office for each local Member; 6 shared offices for out of town Members when in capital on business—space allocated by Speaker; equipment and supplies provided by L.A.
b. sessional staff supplied by L.A. as required—inter-session requirements supplied by Clerk's Office; casual employees in civil service—some unionized, depending on status in civil service
c. unlimited volume—paid by L.A.
d. unlimited regular and long distance during session—paid by L.A.; no credit cards

YUKON

a. 1 office per Member—space allocated by Speaker; equipment and supplies provided by Government (L.A. is part of Government)
b. staff supplied by Clerk's Office on request basis
c. unlimited volume—paid by L.A.
d. unlimited long distance per Member per year; Long Distance Calling Card issued upon request

In the Constituency

As in 1985, the jurisdictions of Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, New Brunswick and the Yukon have no formal constituency office programs.

In Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia, Members are provided with a global allowance for constituency office operations. The amounts have generally increased in Manitoba, Nova Scotia and Alberta, following a provincial election.

In Manitoba a $3,500 constituency allowance is allocated for rent, utilities, supplies and equipment. This represents a 40% increase over 1985. In Nova Scotia $4,200 is allocated for office expenses and secretarial services. Alberta experienced a 71% increase in the constituency allowance from $15,144 in 1985 to $26,444. In British Columbia the constituency allowance is $28,200 a 12% increase over 1985.

In the House of Commons Members must use at least $20,100 of their $100,400 annual staff allowance to hire staff in the constituency. A maximum of $11,450 (3% increase) is allocated for the operation of the office. There is also a furniture allowance of $2,000 for newly elected Members and $1,000 for re-elected Members. Free mailing privileges are provided and calls from the constituency office to Ottawa are paid by the House of Commons.

In Ontario, there is no restriction on the number of staff in the constituency and the Member establishes the pay rate from the total annual staff allowance of $94,625. A maximum of $9,500 is allocated for office accommodation expenses and $4,200 for office operations and maintenance expenses. Regular and long-distance telephone costs are paid by the Legislative Assembly.

In Québec, Members have an annual sum of $77,900 for hiring personnel a 4.7% increase over the previous year. At least $26,100 must be used for legislative office staff and the remaining allocation may be used for the constituency office. Owing to the different sizes and classifications of the many ridings in Quebec, between $13,000 (19.3% increase) and $14,000 (3.7% increase) is allocated for constituency office operations expenses. Mail and telephone costs are paid by the National Assembly upon submission of receipts.

In Saskatchewan the annual staff allowance for the constituency is $11,328, a 3% increase over 1985. The annual office operating allowance increased by 13.9% to $11,328.

Table 8 SUPPORT SERVICES IN CONSTITUENCY

a. general
b. categories of allowances
c. staff
d. mail
e. telephone
f. administration

H of C
a. annual allowance established by BOIE—first established 1973
b. minimum of $20,100 for staff (can use up to $100,400); up to $11,450 for operation of office; $1,000 per parliament to assist re-elected Members with purchase of furniture and equipment; newly elected Members have a $2,000 furniture and equipment allowance for their first Parliament—Members have the right to take over existing furniture and equipment from predecessor; Members are also allowed to transfer funds between the Principal Budget, the Intra-constituency Travel Allowance and the Constituency Operating Allowance within certain limits; in addition budgetary supplements for larger constituencies
c. MPs must use at least $20,100 of their $100,400 annual staff allowance to hire staff in constituency—staff are employees of Member—pay rate established by Member to maximum salary of $39,155; no restrictions on number of employees—payroll service provided by H of C
d. free mailing (franking) privileges—electronic mail service (OASIS)
e. calls within province where constituency located, to Ottawa/Hull and all federal government offices paid by H of C—collect calls and monthly equipment rental costs charged to office operations allowance—H of C pays for optional toll-free calling within Member's constituency
f. responsibility of House of Commons Administration Office—formal guidelines prohibit partisan political activity in the office, employment of parents, spouse or children of Member, use of Member's home; furniture and supplies provided by either H of C or local supplier, charged to operating budget

NFLD
a. no program
b. c. d. e. f. N/A

PEI
a. no program—Member may use office space on a weekly basis in any of 5 regional offices run by Department of Industry, free of charge
b. c. d. N/A
e. L.A. pays installation cost of a private phone line for all rural Members plus monthly charges equalized to the lowest rate in the Province—established by BOIE
f. N/A

NS
a. monthly allowance established by BOIE
b. $300 per month for services in constituency—up to $350 per month for actual expenses for office space, equipment and secretarial services, on submission of receipts
c. no specific allowance—staff are employees of Member—no restriction on numbers—paid on fee-for-service basis on submission of account
d. charged to office allowance
e. charged to office allowance
f. responsibility of Speaker's Office—no formal restrictions on use of office; furniture and equipment may be purchased or leased by Member and charged to office allowance

NB
a. no program
b. c. d. e. f. N/A

QUE
a. annual allowance established by BOIE
b. between $13,000 and $14,100 for office depending on classification of riding; actual operating expenses reimbursed on submission of receipts
c. Member has annual sum of $77,900 for hiring personnel—at least $26,100 must be used for Legislative office and remaining for constituency office; (an additional $8,800 for selected large ridings); funding level established by BOIE; employees of Member, not civil servants; salary range determined by Member—no union
d. paid by L.A. on submission of receipts—no maximum
e. regular and long-distance costs paid by L.A. on submission of receipts—no maximum
f. responsibility of L.A. office—formal guidelines prohibit partisan political activity, use of Member's home, use of office for campaign purposes; furniture and equipment may be rented by Member and charged to office allowance—Member may charge up to $1,000 per year for purchase of furniture or equipment; an additional sum of $2,000 per Legislature could be used for purchase of furniture or equipment

ONT
a. annual allowance established by BOIE—first established 1976
b. up to $9,500 for office accommodation expenses, $1,000 for office renovations and leasehold improvements and $4,200 for office operations and maintenance expenses
c. Member has annual global sum of $94,625 for hiring personnel; staff are employees of caucus—pay rate established by Member—no restriction on numbers—on payroll of L.A.
d. paid by L.A.
e. regular and long distance costs paid by L.A.—no maximum—L.A. pays for toll-free calling within Member's constituency
f. responsibility of L.A. Administrative Office—formal guidelines prohibit partisan political activity, employment of spouse or children of Member, use of office for campaign purposes; furniture, equipment and office automation equipment are provided by the L.A.

MAN
a. annual allowance established by statute
b. $3,500 constituency allowance—for rent, utilities, salaries, stationery, supplies and equipment—on submission of receipts; $6,000 access allowance for meetings with constituents, to prepare and distribute informational material relating to constituency matters, to disseminate information to constituents and for office and personnel expenses
c. no specific allowance—included in global allowance
d. charged to global allowance
e. credit cards issued—paid by L.A.
f. responsibility of Speaker's Office—formal guidelines prohibit partisan political activity

SASK
a. annual and monthly allowance established by statute—first established 1979
b. $11,328 per year for staff—$944 per month for office or staff; $1,378 per year for telephone without receipts—unlimited telephone with receipts or credit card

Table 8 SUPPORT SERVICES IN CONSTITUENCY

	a. general *b. categories of allowances* *c. staff* *d. mail* *e. telephone* *f. administration*
	c. $11,328 per year—staff are employees of Member—pay rate established by statute (½ of top range of Clerk/Steno 3)—Member may also use office allowance to hire staff—no restriction on numbers—on payroll of L.A.—receive benefits equivalent to civil servants *d.* charged to communications allowance—equal to 3 x cost of 1st class letter x number of registered voters in Member's constituency *e.* up to $1,378 per year without receipts; unlimited with receipts or credit card; monthly rental may be charged to either telephone allowance or office allowance *f.* administered by Clerk's Office—no formal guidelines on use of office—furniture and equipment may be rented or bought by Member and charged to office allowance
ALTA	*a.* annual allowance established by BOIE—Speaker given authority to increase allowance—first established 1979 *b.* $26,000 for rent and staff *c.* included in global allowance—staff are contract employees of L.A.—paid on fee-for-service basis—no restriction on numbers *d.* charged to global allowance *e.* charged to global allowance *f.* responsibility of L.A. Administrative Office—formal guidelines prohibit partisan political activity, use of offices during election campaign period—typewriter, dictaphone, transcriber, xerox and telephone answering service provided by L.A.—furniture provided by Government department
BC	*a.* annual allowance established by Speaker—first established 1973 *b.* maximum global allowance of $28,200 for salaries, office rental and overhead, stationery and supplies and related expenses *c.* included in global allowance—staff are employees of Member—pay rate established by Member—no restriction on numbers *d.* charged to global allowance *e.* charged to global allowance *f.* budget established by Speaker—furniture and equipment may be rented or bought by Member and charged to global allowance
NWT	*a.* annual allowance established by statute—first established 1975 *b.* telephones, office supplies, advertising, furniture supplied by L.A. on loan basis; office rental arrangement must be approved by BOIE *c.* stenographic/interpreters as needed; constituency assistant may be hired on part-time basis with a maximum salary of $10,000 per year *d.* unlimited *e.* telephone allowance of $1,500 per year for long-distance—credit cards issued *f.* responsibility of Speaker's Office
YUKON	*a.* no program *b. c. d. e. f.* N/A

Caucus Services

All jurisdictions, with the exception of British Columbia, have established a Board of Internal Economy (BOIE) or an equivalent. This body normally has representation from all elected parties and is responsible for determining the annual funding allocations to caucuses. In British Columbia funding levels are established by the Speaker of the House.

The Province of Prince Edward Island has a Standing Committee on Internal Economy which recommends funding decisions to the Government for final approval. In Saskatchewan most of the decisions are made by the BOIE, however, funding for research, secretarial assistance and operating expenses are set by statute or by formula based on party standing. The Northwest Territories operate on the basis of consensus government and, therefore, there are no political parties and no party caucuses as such represented on the Board.

In the House of Commons the total budgeted funds for research staff and operating

expenses were $1,516,160—a 3% increase since 1985. This amount is divided among the three parties, with the Government party's research budget of $618,000 determined by the BOIE, and the remaining balance allocated to the Opposition parties based on the ratio of their party's standing. Specific staff allotments are also set by the Board for the offices for the Opposition Leaders, and those of the Whips, the Opposition House Leaders and the Caucus Chairmen. In general, each of these offices experienced a 3% increase over the previous year. However, the NDP Leader's Office experienced a slight decrease of funds while the Liberal Leaders' funding remains unchanged.

The largest research allocation is in Ontario with a budget of $2,208,900. As in the House of Commons, specific allotments are set for the Opposition Leaders and the Opposition House Leaders' Offices. In Québec total caucus funding is $557,900—a 4% increase over 1985. The Government party received $300,700 of this amount and the Opposition $251,200.

There were substantial funding increases in Nova Scotia. The Government's caucus budget has increased by 61% to $319,200. The Opposition caucus budget has increased by 22% to $95,700. These increases reflect the review of caucus budgets following the 1985 election. In comparison, in New Brunswick the Government and Opposition caucus budgets are both $116,985—a 3% increase over 1985.

There was also a significant increase in funding in Manitoba as a consequence of the provincial election. The allowance for secretarial and research staff is determined by a formula based on party standing. This figure has increased from $500 per member in 1985 to $1,500 per member in 1986. The number of secretarial and research staff has also increased from five to eight employees per caucus. Funding in Alberta for both staff and operating expenses increased in 1986 after the provincial election. The Government caucus received $1,353,094 in 1986—a 32% increase over 1985. Opposition funding increased by 37% to $879,491 to reflect the jump in the size of the caucus from two to 16 Members. The newly elected Liberals received $340,860 and the Representative Party received $219,437.

British Columbia experienced a per member staff allowance increase of 9% from $27,345 in 1985 to $30,100 in 1986. The Government caucus allowance also increased by 9% to $433,000, whereas the allowance for the Opposition caucus declined slightly to $725,000.

Table 9 CAUCUS SERVICES

a. funding mechanism;
b. restrictions on use of funds
c. employees
d. funding levels

H of C

a. funding levels established by BOIE—first established in 1969 for caucus research; Opposition Leaders' offices equal to 200% of research office budget

b. funds are intended to cover the costs for staff salaries and contracts for temporary services

c. recruitment, hiring, release of employees and salary determination at discretion of the Research, Opposition Leader's or Opposition House Leader's office—benefits similar to Members' employees, including pensions and insurance—no union

d. (i) Research—total available funds $1,516,160—Government research budget determined by BOIE—balance budgeted to opposition in ratio of party standings (i.e. 40 to 30 or 4:3)

—Government	$ 618,000
—Opposition	$ 512,645
—Third Party	$ 385,515

(ii) Opposition Leaders

—Opposition	$1,025,800
— Third Party	$ 771,030

(iii) Whip's Office

—Government	$ 259,800
—Opposition	$ 139,000
—Third Party	$ 77,100

(iv) Opposition House Leaders

—Opposition	$ 63,100
—Third Party	$ 93,800

(v) Caucus Chairman

—Opposition	$ 25,700
—Third Party	$ 25,700

NFLD

a. funding levels established by BOIE—lump sum awarded to each caucus based on representations made by party representatives—first established in

Table 9 CAUCUS SERVICES

a. funding mechanism;
b. restrictions on use of funds
c. employees
d. funding levels

1979 for Government Caucus and pre-1970 for Opposition Caucus
b. funds are used for operating expenses only
c. Government 8 full-time—1 sessional; Opposition 13; Third Party 1—employees of L.A.—pay rates established by BOIE—benefits same as other L.A. staff, including pension—no union
d. Government—$10,214; Opposition—$11,786; Third Party $1,000

PEI
a. funding levels established by Government—based on recommendation of BOIE—first established in 1979 for Government Caucus and 1971 for Opposition Caucus
b. none
c. Government 2; Opposition 3—plus 1 during session and 1 summer student per caucus—employees of L.A.—hired on casual basis—pay rates established by BOIE—vacation and sickness benefits only—no pension—no union
d. Government—$43,000; Opposition $63,000

NS
a. funding levels established by BOIE—formula based on party standings—first established in 1973
b. funds cannot be transferred between categories
c. Government 7; Opposition 2; Third Party 3; Fourth Party 1—employees of L.A.—pay rates tied to civil service standards—benefits same as other L.A. staff, including pension—no union
d. staff—$6,000 per Member, excluding Ministers and Speaker
(i) Caucus: Government $319,200; Opposition $95,700; Third Party see Leader's appropriation; Fourth Party $33,000
(ii) Opposition Leaders—Opposition $287,200; Third Party $180,000—includes Caucus office

NB
a. funding levels established by BOIE—based on budgeted figures determined by Clerk of the House—first established in 1981
b. none
c. Government 4 (3 secretarial, 1 research); Opposition 4 (2 secretarial and 2 research)—employees of L.A.—pay rates established by BOIE—benefits same as other L.A. staff, including pension—no union
d. Government $116,985; Opposition $116,985; Third Party $15,000; Opposition Leader receives additional $219,438 staff allowance

QUE
a. funding levels established by BOIE—BOIE establishes total allocation and party leaders negotiate the breakdown among caucuses—first established in 1974
b. none
c. number of employees unknown (fluctuates widely); employees of caucus—pay rates established by caucus—benefits established by BOIE, including pension—no union
d. $557,900 total divided between caucuses (Government $306,700; Opposition $251,200)

ONT
a. funding levels established by BOIE—formula based on party standings—first established in 1975
b. none—expenditures are monitored by L.A. Administrative staff and are subject to audit by Provincial Auditor
[1]*c.* Government 95; Opposition 160; Third Party 72—employees of caucus—pay rates for secretaries established by BOIE—pay rates for other employees established by caucus—group insurance, hospital, dental & pension provided by L.A.—all other benefits provided by caucus—1 caucus unionized
d. (i) administrative
—$12,480 per Member excl. Ministers (Government $348,300, Opposition $636,500, Third Party $306,200)
(ii) research
—$18,720 per Member, 30 Member minimum for all recognized parties; additional $5,734 per Member may be transferred from caucus research to Member's support staff global allowance

[1]approximate figures

(Government $923,500, Opposition $954,700, Third Party $558,500)
(iii) Opposition Leaders
—Opposition $692,600, Third Party $527,600
(iv) Opposition House Leaders
—Opposition $46,000, Third Party $46,000

MAN
a. funding levels established by BOIE—formula based on party standings—first established pre-1970
b. all operating expenditures are processed by L.A. and are subject to audit by Provincial Auditor
c. Government 8; Opposition 8—employees of L.A.—pay rates established by BOIE—benefits similar to civil servants, including pension—no union
d. allowance for secretarial and research staff based on $1,500 per Member—in addition to operating budget provided for in a.

SASK
a. funding levels established by BOIE and by statute for research, secretarial assistance and operating expenses—formula based on party standings—L.A. supplies dictating equipment, copiers, telephones, stationery and office supplies—first established 1976
b. funds for caucus research are separate from operational grants
c. number of employees unknown; research staff are employees of caucus—pay rates established by caucus—benefits provided by Government—no union; secretaries are employees of L.A., pay rates established by L.A.—benefits same as civil servants, including pension—no union
d. (i) administration
—$4,313 per Member, excluding Speaker, Ministers and Opposition Leader
(ii) secretarial
—$25,896 per caucus
(iii) research
—funding provided to caucuses for payment of researchers; total budget comprised of 1 research officer 4—annual salary $41,616 and number of caucus Members x annual top-of-range Research Officer 3 x .125 (for each Member—$2,065.50 per year)
(iv) Opposition Leader
—$86,330

ALTA
a. funding levels established by BOIE—based on budget submissions prepared by each caucus—first established pre-1970
b. funds may not be transferred among caucuses
c. Government 16; Opposition 9; Representative Party 6—Liberals 3; employees of L.A.—pay rates established by caucus—benefits same as other L.A. staff, including pension—no union.
d. Government $1,353,094; Opposition $879,491; Representative Party $219,437; Liberals $340,860; funds divided into 17 categories for each caucus—salaries—wages—contract staff—employee contributions—staff training—travel—advertising—car insurance—postage—rental of equipment—telephones—repair and maintenance—professional services—data services—hospitality—supplies—purchase of equipment

B C
a. funding levels established by Speaker—based on party standings—first established 1972
b. funds restricted to staff salaries, staff travel and new equipment purchases
c. Government 17; Opposition 27—employees of L.A.—pay rates and benefits established by caucus—no union
d. based on $30,100 per Member; plus additional allowances to both caucuses for session, staff travel and for staffing the offices of the Opposition Leader and Deputy Speaker (Government $433,000; Opposition $725,000; Progressive Conservative Party $30,850)

N W T
a. Members do not belong to party caucuses—NWT operates on basis of consensus government
b. c. d. N/A.

YUKON
a. funding levels established by BOIE—based on party standings—first established 1978
b. funds are used for research and secretarial services
c. Government 1 full-time researcher, 1 part-time secretary; Opposition 2 full-

Table 9 CAUCUS SERVICES

a. funding mechanism;
b. restrictions on use of funds
c. employees
d. funding levels

time researchers, 1 full-time secretary, Third Party 1 full-time researcher, 1 full-time secretary—employees of caucus—pay rates and benefits established by caucus—no union

d. Government $10,000 per Private Member per year; Opposition $20,000 per Member per year—Government Members have funds for secretary ($12,500)—each Opposition caucus has funds for secretary ($25,000 each); operational expenses provided by L.A. free of charge

Research Services

There are still only four jurisdictions which provide funds to be used for personal research assistants for Members: the House of Commons, Ontario, Québec and Saskatchewan.

In the House of Commons, within the limits of their overall staff budget, Members may employ one Legislative Assistant up to a maximum salary of $39,155, one Special Assistant up to $31,822, and any number of Member's Assistants and/or Constituency Assistants up to $29,370. These salaries represent a 3% increase over 1985. In Ontario, Québec and Saskatchewan, Members may hire a personal Research Assistant from the total staff budget allocated to them.

Every jurisdiction has researchers assigned to the various caucuses. The number of researchers ranges from one or two per caucus in the Atlantic provinces, to seven or eight in the Western provinces, to 50 or more in the Opposition caucuses in Ontario.

In terms of library research services, the House of Commons, Québec, Ontario and Alberta are the only jurisdictions with a separate department responsible for providing non-partisan research assistance to Members.

Table 10 RESEARCH SERVICES

a. personal research assistant
b. caucus research
c. Library research

H of C
a. within limits of their overall staff budget, Members may employ one Legislative Assistant up to a maximum salary of $39,155, one Special Assistant up to $31,822, any number of Member's Assistants and/or Constituency Assistants up to $29,370—in addition, each staff person receives an allowance for vacation leave of either 4% or 6%, depending on length of service; employees of Member
b. within limits of authorized budget—no limit on number of employees—employees of research office—pay rates established by research office—benefits similar to employees of Members of the House, including pensions—no union
c. 84 employees—established pre-1970—employees of Library of Parliament—non-partisan research provided to Members, Senators, Ministers, Party Leaders, and Committees of the House and Senate

NFLD
a. none
b. 1 researcher per caucus—pay rate established by BOIE—present rate is $20,497 to $22,844—employees of L.A.—no union
c. total staff of 3 who all assist with research—employees of L.A.—no formal restrictions on type of research—services provided to Members, Ministers and Party Leaders, not Committees

PEI
a. none
b. Government 0; Opposition 1—pay rate established by BOIE—present rate is $40,640—employee of L.A.—hired on casual basis—no union
c. Legislative Library is not part of L.A.

NS
a. none
b. included in TABLE 16
c. no separate research department in Legislative Library

NB
a. none
b. Government 1, Opposition 2—employees of L.A.—pay rates established by

BOIE—benefits same as other L.A. staff, including pension—no union
c. no Legislative Library research

QUE *a.* Member may hire a personal research assistant out of annual sum of $77,900 staff allowance
b. number of employees unknown (fluctuates widely)—pay rate established by Party Leader—employees of caucus—no union
c. 8 employees—department established in 1971—employees are civil servants—research restricted to legislative business—non-partisan research provided to Members, Speaker, Ministers, Party Leaders and Committees

ONT *a.* Member may hire a personal research assistant out of annual sum of $94,625 staff allowance
b. Government 15; Opposition 50; Third Party 10 - pay rate established by caucus—employees of caucus—1 caucus is unionized
c. 19 employees (15 research officers)—department established in 1979—employees of L.A.—non-partisan research provided to Members, Ministers, Party Leaders and Committees

MAN *a.* none
b. Government and Opposition 3 each—pay rate established by BOIE—employees of L.A.—no union
c. Legislative Library is not part of L.A.

SASK *a.* Member may hire personal research assistant out of secretarial allowance or constituency office allowance—no restriction on numbers
b. number of employees unknown—employees of caucus—pay rates established by caucus—benefits provided by caucus—no union
c. no separate research department in Legislative Library

ALTA *a.* none
b. Government 8; Opposition 4; Liberal 2; Representatives 3—pay rates established by caucus—range is $1,440 to $2,960 per month—employees of L.A.—hired on contract basis—no union
c. 6 employees—employees of L.A.—non-partisan research provided to Members, Ministers, Party Leaders, Committees and Officers of House

BC *a.* none
b. Government 3; Opposition 7—pay rates established by caucus—employees of L.A.—no union
c. no separate research department in Legislative Library

NWT *a.* none
b. 3 researchers—employed by L.A.—provide research assistance to Private Members and Standing Committees
c. Legislative Library is not part of L.A.

YUKON *a.* none
b. Government 1 full-time; Opposition 2 full-time; Third Party 1 full-time—employees of caucus—pay rates and benefits established by caucus—no union (this is same staff referred to under Caucus Employees)
c. Legislative Library is not part of L.A.

Legislative Library

The Yukon, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island do not have a Legislative Library as part of the Legislative Assembly although Members often have access to other government libraries.

Of the remaining jurisdictions only the House of Commons, Québec, Ontario and Alberta have a separate research department within the Library, to provide non-partisan research assistance to Members. The largest legislative research department is in the House of Commons with 84 employees. Ontario has 15 research staff, Québec employs 8, and Alberta has 6.

In most jurisdictions the Legislative Library budgets increased between 3% and 5% since 1985. In Québec, however, the budget decreased by 9% to $2,474,300 and in New Brunswick by 4% to $243,188. In the Northwest Territories a small library has been established by the Speaker with two staff who maintain the collection and provide research services to Members.

Table 11 LEGISLATIVE LIBRARY

a. number of employees
b. 1986-87 budget
c. number of employees in research department

H of C
a. 235 person years
b. $11,173,000
c. 84

NFLD
a. 3
b. $107,300
c. no separate research department

PEI
a. Legislative Library collection is maintained by Provincial Library Service which is part of Department of Education
b. N/A
c. no separate research department

NS
a. 4
b. $210,000
c. no separate research department

NB
a. 7
b. $243,188
c. no separate research department

QUE
a. 70
b. $2,474,300
c. 8

ONT
a. 87
b. $3,893,200
c. 15

MAN
a. Legislative Library not part of L.A.
b. N/A
c. no separate research department

SASK
a. 14
b. $600,490
c. no separate research department

ALTA
a. 24
b. $1,148,454
c. 6

BC
a. 31 full-time, 2 sessional
b. $1,327,565
c. no separate research department

NWT
a. 2
b. N/A
c. no separate research department

YUKON
a. none
b. N/A
c. N/A

Special Allowances For Members

Manitoba and Alberta continue to be the only jurisdictions which allocate special allowances for Members. This allowance may be used at the discretion of each Member for certain prescribed expenses.

In Manitoba each Member is allocated an extra $3,500 for office expenses incurred in the constituency. This allocation increased by 29% from $2,500 in 1985. A new addition this year is that Members now have an access allowance of $6,000 for expenses incurred to hold meetings with constituents.

In Alberta there is a special allowance calculated for communications between the Member and his constituents. In addition, there is a special allocation provided for pins, flags and other tokens. Both these amounts are based on the number of electors in the Member's constituency.

Table 12 JURISDICTIONS WHICH HAVE SPECIAL ALLOWANCES FOR MEMBERS WHICH MAY BE USED IN A VARIETY OF WAYS ACCORDING TO THE PRIORITIES OF THE MEMBER

MANITOBA — The annual constituency allowance of $3,500 for expenses incurred by a Member in serving residents of the constituency may be used for a variety of expenses including: office rental, utilities, maintenance, salaries for staff, printing, telephone, transportation, meals and accommodation, office equipment and furniture, stationery and office supplies, and purchase of publications and books.

	In addition, Members now have an access allowance of $6,000 for expenses incurred to hold meetings with constituents, to prepare and distribute informational material relating to constituency matters, to disseminate information to constituents and for office and personnel expenses
ALBERTA	Communication Allowance equal to $0.7622 x number of electors in the most recent list of electors compiled for the Member's electoral division divided by 1.5. This allowance is used to pay expenses related generally to the communication between the Member and his constituents. Promotional allowance is $2,163 + .0721 x number of electors in excess of 14,000 in the most recent list of electors compiled for the Member's electoral division. A member may direct the Clerk to transfer all or part of the amount of an allowance (constituency office, communication or promotional) to one of the other allowances.
NWT	Each Member has a maximum amount for constituency allowance. In the past this has been at the Member's disposal to cover items considered necessary for the conduct of the constituency.

Computerization Of Members' Offices

The House of Commons and Ontario provide the most sophisticated computerized services for Private Members' offices. Both jurisdictions provide a complete range of word and data processing services including electronic mail, access to Hansard, House Business papers and bills. These services are available to Members, caucus offices and other offices within the Legislature.

To a lesser degree, the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and the Northwest Territories also provide computerized services. In Manitoba the caucus offices and the Clerk's Office use word processing equipment and Hansard is now available on display terminals. In Saskatchewan the Office of the Clerk and Legislative Library are computerized, and each caucus has its own word processing equipment. In Alberta each Private Member's office has a word processing system. In the Northwest Territories the Legislative Assembly has a number of micro-computers available to Members, and the Research Branch has recently implemented links with Members' offices and the government's central computer.

Québec is currently planning to computerize its Legislature and has completed a Global Development Plan and a pilot project to assess the available hardware and software. Phase one of the overall plan is expected to proceed in 1987-88. In the remaining provinces no overall plans for computerization are in place.

Table 13 COMPUTERIZATION OF MEMBERS' OFFICES

H of C	Implementation of the Office Service and Information Systems Project (OASIS), providing Members with services such as: – a communications network linking all buildings in the Parliament Hill complex and connecting all Members' offices – Demand Video service which televises to the Member's office, on request, any selection from the House proceedings of 1977 to the present, as well as many public affairs programs – live House proceedings, TV Broadcast in French, English or "floor sound" – TV listings of up-to-the-moment committee meeting schedules – daily synopsis of national TV news broadcasts (Videoquorum), training programs and orientation sessions for Members and staff, live press conferences from National Press Theatre, flight information from Ottawa International Airport – live coverage of Vancouver, Edmonton and Hamilton satellite stations and of Atlantic Satellite network – coverage of proceedings of U.S. House of Representatives and Senate via C-SPAN satellite service

Table 13 COMPUTERIZATION OF MEMBERS' OFFICES

– electronic mail service for use between Members, Constituency Offices and other users in Canada or around the world
– access to electronic data bases from Library of Parliament, party research offices, government departments and other commercial information sources in North America

OASIS improves House services such as Committee and Hansard reporting, production and printing processes, and access to a computerized data base of procedural reference material.

NB Arrangements now in progress to change system in the Offices of the Clerk and Hansard. Computerization planned for the Legislative Library and Accounting Office. Government Caucus presently using one word processor.

QUE Global development plan and pilot project completed. Plans to go ahead with the introduction of a network in 1987-88.

ONT Implementation of the Legislative Information System has been installed in all Members' offices, caucus offices and several offices and departments of the Assembly. LIS provides word processing, electronic mail, calendar management, a customized correspondence management system for Members (MPP Index), interface to Hansard and House business papers, and interface to external data bases. The Assembly is currently developing a strategic plan for systems development throughout the Assembly, which will include extension of office automation to Members' constituency offices during 1987.

MAN Caucus offices and the Clerk's Office use word processing equipment. Hansard is now available on display terminals in less than 24 hours through a program recently implemented by the Legislative Assembly and the Manitoba Data Services, a Crown Corporation.

SASK Department of Legislation—including Office of Clerk, Legislative Library, Journals, Hansard, Legislative Counsel and Law Clerk, and Accounts—is all computerized including printers and typesetting equipment. Each caucus has installed its own word processing equipment—paid for out of own funds—there are no plans to centralize all word processors or computers within the Legislature.

ALTA Word processing system recently put in place in private Members' offices in Legislature. System Manager position in Clerk's Office to coordinate and supervise daily operations and to develop and administer programs to meet the needs of the Members and their staff.

NWT The Legislative Assembly has a number of micro-computers available to Members on a loan basis, to be used in their constituency offices as the need arises. Clerk's Office is presently implementing the use of micro-computers in its daily operations—applications will include research support services and finance & administration support services. It is planned that a network system be set-up vis-a-vis inter-office, Clerk's Office to Constituency office. The Research Branch has implemented links with Members' offices and the Government's central computer. Members can now access data from the Research Branch.

YUKON The offices of the Opposition Leader and the Third Party Leader each have one word processor.

FROM TYPEWRITERS TO COMPUTERS

The Development of Legislative Information Systems

BY DON BENTLEY

All legislative bodies are faced with the challenge of processing and disseminating an ever-increasing amount of information. The need to introduce automated office technology and information systems to meet this need has been recognized in most jurisdictions, and implementation of a number of comprehensive Legislative Information Systems is well underway.

Increased awareness of computer capabilities has resulted in a demand for systems which are readily accessible to individual Members and their staff, as well as being compatible with caucus and legislative support systems.

The proliferation of available technology, the wide-ranging implications of automation and the costs associated with introducing any significant degree of technology, all pose a number of challenges for administrators. Approaches vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction.

The Alberta Legislature has addressed its current needs with four NBI Central Processors and some 48 terminals which serve both caucus and administrative needs. In addition, approximately 33% of the Members have automated their constituency offices by using funds from their communications allowance. Training and support, initially provided by the vendor, are now being provided internally as a result of the tremendous demand.

Chuck Eliuk, Director of Administration, commented that "We are striving to attain consistency with systems development to ensure that electronic mail, text and data exchange capabilities are possible between all of our systems and we are considering further study in this area."

In Ottawa, the emphasis has been on the development of the Office Service and Information Systems Project (OASIS). The result is a network linking all buildings in the Parliament Hill complex and connecting all Members' offices.

OASIS provides each Member with a number of services including live and recorded proceedings of the House of Commons, listings of up-to-the-moment committee schedules, and a daily synopsis of national TV news broadcasts (Videoquorum). Federal Members also have access to a variety of databases and an electronic mail service for use between Members, constituency offices and other users in Canada and around the world.

In general, the House of Commons system emphasizes communications and access to data as opposed to text processing and the management of correspondence.

Pilot Projects

In Québec, a master plan for computerizing the National Assembly was produced and adopted in 1984. The plan included mounting a pilot project in twelve offices during fiscal 1985-86, which was completed in June 1986.

The plan is now being updated to include needs analysis data gathered during the pilot project, and is expected to result in an infrastructure for ongoing systems development and implementation.

Daniel Allaire of the Information Systems Directorate advised that the National Assembly is striving towards introducing an integrated network for the entire Assembly, and that the first phase of implementation will include approximately 30 terminals.

The Legislative Assembly of Ontario started to investigate the potential for providing automation to each Member in the early '80s, and

reached a stage where a Pilot Study was undertaken in 1984. Before proceeding with systems design and a Request for Proposal (RFP) to select vendor equipment, it was decided that two Members from each of the three caucuses would be provided with a workstation and printer for a one-year period. During the pilot period, participating Members were canvassed to determine which factors should be used to establish criteria for selecting a system which would meet their needs.

Tom Mitchinson, Director of Information Services, commented: "Early into the study, it became evident that management of correspondence was the primary application, and this became a focal point for all subsequent systems design. In addition to word processing capabilities, we identified a need to track the types of correspondence and the issues relating to each item. A customized correspondence management and database system, known as MPP Index, was specified and included in the subsequent requirements listing provided to the vendor community."

Of the total respondents to the RFP, three vendors were chosen for the short-list and each vendor was invited to provide in-house demonstrations for Ontario Members and staff. In addition to demonstrations, a thorough evaluation of each product offering was completed. A contract was awarded to Datapoint Canada Inc. for a total of 150 intelligent workstations, 150 desk-top Xerox laser printers, 4 high-speed laser printers, 6 minicomputers and a network to tie the system together. Each of the three caucuses placed subsequent orders to extend the system to their Research and Administrative personnel. The system at present includes 225+ workstations.

During the planning stages a decision was made to provide each of the three caucuses with a separate computer room and one for the Office of the Assembly, with a common mail system to connect all users of the Legislative Information System.

Initial staffing for the Ontario system included three Systems Administrators, one for each of the three caucus computer systems, and a Network Administrator to serve as coordinator and to assume responsibility for the Office of the Assembly's computer system.

From the onset it was decided that all training and support of the users of the system would be provided internally. Positions of Education Coordinator and Training Specialists were created and an Education and Information Centre was established. The Centre consists of a classroom which accommodates six students, an Information Centre with three separate working areas, a reception/coffee area and office space for personnel. All training and reference material is customized and produced by Education Centre personnel. In addition to classroom and walk-in support, a consulting hot-line is manned during regular working hours.

The original schedule for implementation of the Ontario system was based on an average of fourteen offices per month from March to December of 1986. This schedule was later revised to have all Members' offices installed by October 22 and all basic training completed by October 31, 1986.

From Typewriters to Computers

The challenge of converting 225 offices from typewriters to state-of-the-art computers within a seven month period has been an exciting one.

Implementation included installing electrical supply and coaxial cable to each office within the Queen's Park complex, and establishing a telecommunication link with each of the eighteen Members located in Ministries throughout the city in their capacity either as a Minister of the Crown or Parliamentary Assistant. Each Member's office is furnished with an ergonomic desk for the computer workstation and a printer stand for the laser printer and paper trays.

Most staff were enthusiastic about the prospect of using the computer system, even though the vast majority were first-time users. Special attention was provided for those who demonstrated any trepidation and we are confident that almost all our users are now very comfortable with the system.

Education support provided to first-time users is comprised of eight three-hour modules for systems basics and word processing, as well as up to ten additional three-hour

modules to cover all other office applications available on the system. Users who are experienced on other systems are able to enroll in accelerated classes.

Introduction of technology in a legislature differs from business in that there is a significant amount of autonomy in each of the Member's Offices. The success of the implementation depends entirely on acceptance by each Member, rather than the leverage which can be exerted by senior executives in a business.

The impact of introducing an integrated Assembly-wide system within the Ontario Legislature has been very favourable. Margaret Marland MPP, Mississauga South, the first Member of the Ontario Legislature to complete Members' Training, recently commented: "In our office we continue to be excited about the prospect of all we can do on the system which will benefit the people who live in my riding. The bottom line is that, as elected representatives, our mandate is to service the needs of our constituents and develop policy. Tapping technology enables us to work with volumes of data and information which would not be possible in a manual mode: the planned extension of the system to our Constituency offices will increase the benefits even more. If we live in the 20th century we should benefit from 20th Century technology. We, in government, are dealing every day with large businesses and organizations who are utilizing advanced technology: we need to have the same tools at our hand if we are to be effective. Any time we are provided with a better tool to do the job, then the beneficiaries of that job being done more efficiently are those people who reside and do business in the Province of Ontario."

Generally, managing a Member's workload has been assisted through the introduction of the Legislative Information System. Frank Rioux, Executive Assistant to Maurice Bossy MPP Chatham-Kent, stated: "The system enhances our work. We could do most of the things manually but the system allows us to do an excellent job - as opposed to an adequate job. Technology has allowed us to turn a large volume of data, from a number of manual sources, into useful information which we can extrapolate and manipulate to satisfy the demands placed on our Member."

A Global Strategic Plan

With initial installation of the Members' system in Ontario completed, the Assembly is now in the process of implementing a Global Strategic Plan for Office Automation which is to encompass extension of the Information System to constituency offices, a possible second workstation in each Members' Office, specific requirements of caucus offices, and includes all other Information Systems planned or installed within the Office of the Assembly. Essentially the plan reflects a change in perspective from that of focusing individually on each function, to dealing from an overall Assembly perspective.

Canadian, American and European visitors who have toured the installation have been impressed with the extent of the network; professionalism in the areas of training and support; the speed with which it was implemented; the obvious acceptance; and the degree to which the system is being used in most offices. It is hard to imagine that the system was essentially created in less than twelve months.

Robin Sears, Principal Secretary to the Leader of the New Democratic Party, brought this evolutionary process into perspective by stating: "We experienced a significant change in Canadian Legislatures during the 1970s. We experienced enormous growth in services to constituents, which placed tremendous strain on the system and the people in it. For us, the great attraction of Information Systems is the ability to extend and expand the range of services provided to people outside the Legislature—our constituents."

Don Bentley is Manager of Information Systems for the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES

Legislative Budgets

In 1986-87 the total budget for the twelve provincial and territorial legislatures and the House of Commons is approximately $361.6 million an increase of about 11% over the 1985-86 fiscal year. The budget of the House of Commons in 1986-87 is $167.5 million, or 46.3% of the total expenditures by all legislatures in Canada. Similarly, the combined budgets for the Ontario and Québec Legislatures represent a total of $127.3 million, or 35% of total expenditures.

Legislative budgets increased in 10 of 13 jurisdictions in 1986-87. The increases range from a low of 2.5% in the House of Commons to highs of 29.3% in Ontario and 28.6% in Alberta. In Ontario the increase is due in large part to the introduction of Electronic Hansard and the capital costs associated with installing a television broadcast facility in the Assembly. In Alberta the increased budget is as a result of several factors including an increase in Members' indemnities by 5%, an increase in the funding provided to the party caucuses and the 71% increase in the constituency office allowance.

Other notable increases are the 14% jump in Saskatchewan and the 10% increase in the legislative budget for the Northwest Territories. In Saskatchewan the increase reflects full-year funding of Guide Services and the Legislative Security Branch which were formerly under the jurisdiction of the Department of Supply and Services. In the Northwest Territories the increase includes renovations to the legislative building and costs associated with the enhancement of translation services.

In three jurisdictions the budget for the legislature actually decreased in the 1986-87 fiscal year. In Newfoundland the decrease was less than 1% but in Québec the budget of the National Assembly was reduced by 6.2% as a result of the postponement or cancellation of planned capital improvements planned for the

Table 14 LEGISLATIVE BUDGETS

	a. 1986-1987 *b. 1985-1986* *c. % increase*		
H of C	*a.* $167,507,000 *b.* $163,398,000 *c.* 2.5%	MAN	*a.* $ 4,693,100 *b.* $ 4,427,900 *c.* 6%
NFLD	*a.* $ 7,561,200[1] *b.* $ 7,632,900[1] *c.* (.9%)	SASK	*a.* $10,106,240[2] *b.* $ 8,880,220 *c.* 14%
PEI	*a.* $ 1,420,500 *b.* $ 1,317,500 *c.* 7.8%	ALTA	*a.* $15,619,222 *b.* $12,080,816 *c.* 29.3%
NS	*a.* $ 4,900,000 *b.* $ 4,542,000 *c.* 7.89%	BC	*a.* $10,861,780 *b.* $10,458,961 *c.* 3.85%
NB	*a.* $ 5,496,000 *b.* $ 5,139,000 *c.* 6.9%	NWT	*a.* $ 4,678,000 *b.* $ 4,240,000 *c.* 10%
QUE	*a.* $60,039,300 *b.* $63,958,900 *c.* (6.2%)	YUKON	*a.* $ 1,526,000 *b.* $ 1,750,000 *c.* (13%)
ONT	*a.* $67,251,500 *b.* $52,281,100 *c.* 28.63%		

[1] Included in this figure are Auditor General's Department and Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner

[2] Included in this figure is full year financing for Legislative Security Branch and Guide Services

National Assembly and additional costs relating to security. In the Yukon the legislative budget was reduced by 13% from $1,750,000 in 1985-86 to $1,526,000 in 1986-87. The decrease reflects the increased budget in 1985-86 to provide for costs related to the 1985 election.

As indicated in Table 15 the ranking of legislative budgets did not change in 1986-87. However, it is interesting to note that the budget for the House of Commons remains by far the largest in the country and is 118 times as large as that of Prince Edward Island and two and a half times as large as the budget for the Ontario Legislature.

Table 15 RANKING OF LEGISLATIVE BUDGETS

	1986-87	*1985-86*
H of C	$167,507,000	$163,398,000
ONT	67,251,500	52,281,100
QUE	60,039,300	63,958,900
ALTA	15,619,222	12,080,816
BC	10,861,780	10,458,961
SASK	10,106,240	8,880,220
NFLD	7,561,200	7,632,900
NB	5,496,000	5,139,000
NS	4,900,000	4,542,000
MAN	4,693,100	4,427,900
NWT	4,678,000	4,240,000
YUKON	1,526,000	1,750,000
PEI	1,420,500	1,317,500

Employees of the Legislature

During the past year the number of employees of the legislature did not change appreciably in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.

In the House of Commons the overall staff level decreased by 4% from 1691 to 1621 person-years. The biggest decrease was in Hansard, with a 10% drop from 198 to 178. The Administration Office witnessed a similar decrease of 6% from 865 to 816 person-years. Although the Parliamentary Relations Office retained the same number of staff (29), the House of Commons portion of the budget increased by 10% to $2,419,000. Although there is still no union of Parliament Hill employees, the passage of Bill C-45 in June of 1986 allows for the creation of a union among these employees.

In Newfoundland the number of legislative employees increased by 21% from 35 to 47. In New Brunswick the increase was a more modest 4% although the complement of the Clerk's Office went from 29 to 34 in the past year - an increase of 17%.

In Québec there was a significant decrease in the number of employees in the National Assembly. The total number of full-time employees fell by 11% while the number of sessional staff decreased by 15% during the past year. The largest decrease was in the Clerk's Office where the number of full-time employees was reduced by 35% from 31 to 20 as a result of staff retirements and a reorganization of the Office.

In Ontario the number of employees in the Legislature increased by 44 to 320 employees, a 16% increase over 1985. Much of this increase is explained by the creation of the Broadcast and Recording Service which operates the Electronic Hansard for the Legislative Assembly.

The Manitoba Legislature experienced the largest growth in staff of any Canadian legislature during the past year. The number of full-time employees increased by 67%, from 21 to 35. The increase was largely due to the addition of two research staff and one secretary to the Conservative and NDP Caucuses; one secretary for the lone Independent; the creation of the position of Executive Assistant to the Speaker; and the addition of six Legislative Interns to the staff complement of the Assembly.

In Saskatchewan a 14% decrease in the number of full-time staff (43 to 37) was offset by a 27% increase in the number of sessional employees from 74 to 94, including the addition of 27 constituency secretaries. In British Columbia there was also a shift in the allocation of legislative employees during the past year. The number of full-time staff increased by 5% to 118, whereas the number of sessional staff decreased by 11% from 53 to 47. As well, during the past year three full-time employees were transferred from the Comptroller's Office in the Ministry of the Provincial Secretary to an Accounts Office in the Legislative Assembly.

Table 16 EMPLOYEES OF THE LEGISLATURE

a. total full time
b. total sessional
c. Clerk's Office
d. Administration Office
e. Legislative Library
f. Hansard Reporting Service
g. Parliamentary Relations Office
h. status of employees

H of C
a. 1,621 person-years
b. 0
c. 153 person-years—includes Clerks Assistant, Clerks at the Table, Committees and Private Legislation, Table Research, Journals, Law Clerk and Parliamentary Counsel, Parliamentary Relations
d. 816 person-years—includes Comptroller, Human Resources, Reporting and Distribution Services, Support and Information Services, Internal Audit, Purchasing and Materials Management; Restaurant and Cafeterias
(Sergeant-at-Arms heads a third branch with 652 person-years—includes Security, Messengers, Cleaning, Maintenance, and other housekeeping services)
e. 235 person-years
f. 178 person-years (includes House and Committee Section)
g. 29 person-years—20 of which are supplied by the House of Commons (9 by the Senate)—serves both H of C and Senate (Budget for H of C portion = $2,419,000)
h. employees of H of C—no union

NFLD
a. 47
b. 7
c. 4
d. included in Clerk's Office
e. 3
f. 11 full-time
g. none
h. employees of L.A.—not civil servants—no union

PEI
a. 1
b. 19
c. 19—all sessional
d. included in Clerk's office
e. Legislative Library collection is maintained by Provincial Library Service which is part of Department of Education
f. no Hansard
g. none
h. casual employees of L.A.—no union

NS
a. 18
b. 40
c. 2 full-time
d. 6—includes Personnel and Finance
e. 4 full-time, 1 part-time
f. 8 full-time, 11 seasonal
g. none
h. civil servants—no union

NB
a. 51
b. 34
c. 26 (inc. 8 Caucus staff, 10 translation staff)
d. included in Clerk's Office
e. 7
f. 18
g. none
h. employees of L.A.—not civil servants—no union

QUE
a. 446 (excl. Prov Aud's Office, Ombudsman's Office & Election Office)
b. 151 (excl. Prov Aud's Office, Ombudsman's Office & Election Office)
c. 20 full-time, 5 sessional
d. 165 full-time, 41 sessional—includes Personnel, Finance, Purchasing, Accommodation and Restaurants
e. 69 full-time, 8 sessional
f. 68 full-time, 13 sessional
g. 9 full-time, 1 sessional ($1,001,500 budget)
h. civil servants—some employees unionized

ONT
a. 320
b. 11
c. 26 (12 in Committees Branch)
d. 103—includes Human Resources, Finance, Information Services and Director's Office
e. 88
f. 40
g. 16 ($569,300 budget)
h. employees of L.A.—not civil servants—no union

Table 16 EMPLOYEES OF THE LEGISLATURE

a. total full time
b. total sessional
c. Clerk's Office
d. Administration Office
e. Legislative Library
f. Hansard Reporting Service
g. Parliamentary Relations Office
h. status of employees

MAN
a. 35 (excl. Prov Aud's Office, Ombudsman's Office & Election Office)
b. 32
c. 6
d. Personnel and Finance functions for L.A. are performed by Director of Administration of the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs—Director has staff of 10 but they are not all associated with L.A.
e. Legislative Library not part of L.A.
f. 1 full-time—16 sessional
g. None—Speaker's Office and Clerk's Office carry out this function
h. employees of L.A.—not civil servants—no union

SASK
a. 37
b. 94 (incl. 27 constituency secretaries)
c. 4
d. 19
e. 14 full-time
f. 1 full-time—26 sessional
g. none
h. employees of L.A.—not civil servants

ALTA
a. 104
b. 11
c. 14
d. included in Clerk's Office
e. 24
f. 8 full-time—5 sessional
g. none
h. civil servants—no union

B C
a. 118
b. 47
c. 1 full-time secretary—1 sessional secretary—3 Clerks at the Table
d. Administrative functions for L.A. performed by Speaker's Office; 3 full-time employees in Speaker's Office; 3 full-time employees in Accounts Office
e. 31 full-time; 2 sessional
f. 11 full-time; 2 sessional
g. none
h. employees of L.A.—except Library employees who are public servants

N W T
a. 16
b. 46
c. 16
d. included in Clerk's Office
e. small Library established, staffed by L.A. staff
f. 1 contract; 13 sessional
g. 1 (budget figure unavailable)
h. civil servants—some employees unionized

YUKON
a. 6
b. 1
c. 5 full-time; 1 sessional
d. included in Clerk's Office
e. no Legislative Library
f. handled under contract
g. none
h. civil servants—one employee unionized

Financial Management of the Legislature

In every Canadian legislature the Speaker has a major role to play in the administration and financial management of the Assembly. With the exception of British Columbia where no such body exists, the Speaker shares this responsibility with either a Committee of the House or a Board or Commission of Internal Economy. To simplify the various tables the editors have once again opted to use the acronym "BOIE" to refer to the management body in all jurisdictions.

During the past year there have been few changes in the characteristics of the legislative management bodies across the country. However, the composition of the management body has changed during the past year in Nova Scotia and Alberta. In the case of the former, the Opposition is for the first time represented on the Legislative Internal Economy Board which also includes the Speaker and Deputy Speaker, the Government House Leader, the Minister of Finance and the Chairman of Management Board. In Alberta the change in com-

position of the House and Cabinet has changed the membership on the Select Standing Committee on Members' Services. The number of Opposition Members has increased to three, and one of the Government Members has opted to remain on the Committee despite becoming a member of Cabinet. It is important to note that Newfoundland is now the only jurisdiction where the Opposition is not represented on the legislative management body.

During the past year the reporting relationship of the management body to the legislature has not changed. In nine of the twelve jurisdictions which have a Board of Internal Economy or its equivalent, the Board either reports to the House or its decisions are tabled in the House. In contrast, in Ontario, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, the Board does not report to the legislature.

In Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan, the Northwest Territories and the House of Commons the average number of BOIE meetings has increased in 1986. The Board meets most often in the House of Commons with weekly meetings, and in Québec with meetings every two weeks. In contrast the Board of Internal Economy in the Yukon meets only an average of four times per year.

The powers and duties of the legislature's management body are outlined in statute in most jurisdictions, including the Northwest Territories where they were previously defined by the Board of Internal Economy itself. Moreover, with the exception of Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, the Board or its equivalent has the task of reviewing the Estimates of the Legislative Assembly, a process described in greater detail in the next section.

Table 17 BODY RESPONSIBLE FOR FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT OF HOUSE

H OF C	Board of Internal Economy
NFLD	Internal Economy Commission
P E I	Standing Committee on Internal Economy
N S	Legislative Internal Economy Board
N B	Legislative Administration Committee
QUE	Office of the National Assembly
ONT	Board of Internal Economy
MAN	Legislative Assembly Management Commission
SASK	Board of Internal Economy
ALTA	Select Standing Committee on Members' Services
B C	Speaker
N W T	Management and Services Board
YUKON	Board of Internal Economy

Table 18 FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT OF LEGISLATURE

	a. composition of management body
	b. reporting relationship
	c. average number of meetings per year
	d. minutes of meetings
	e. powers and duties of management body
	f. Estimates reviewed by management body
H of C	*a.* Speaker, Deputy Speaker, two Members of the Queen's Privy Council, Leader of the Opposition or his/her nominee, four other Members of whom two are appointed by the Government party caucus and two are appointed by the caucuses of the parties in opposition, one of whom is appointed by the Official Opposition
	b. proceedings for preceding session are tabled in the House within 10 days of the start of each session—decisions related to Committee budgets are tabled immediately
	c. weekly—Wednesdays
	d. become public when tabled in House
	e. outlined in House of Commons Act and Standing Orders of the House of Commons
	f. H of C Estimates and Committee budgets
NFLD	*a.* Speaker is Chairman, Deputy Speaker, 3 Ministers; no Opposition representation
	b. BOIE does not report to House
	c. 15 meetings
	d. not published nor available to public
	e. outlined in statute
	f. L.A. Estimates—includes Ombudsman's Office
P E I	*a.* Speaker is Chairman, Opposition Leader, Government House Leader
	b. Committee has authority to report to House
	c. 6 meetings
	d. not published nor available to public

Table 18 FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT OF LEGISLATURE

a. composition of management body
b. reporting relationship
c. average number of meetings per year
d. minutes of meetings
e. powers and duties of management body
f. Estimates reviewed by management body

e. not precisely defined
f. BOIE does not review any Estimates; Estimates of L.A. are devised by BOIE, reviewed by Treasury Board and approved by Cabinet

NS
a. Speaker is Chairman, Government House Leader is Vice Chairman, Chairman Management Board, Minister of Finance, Deputy Speaker, Chairman Government Caucus, Member from Opposition Caucus, Member from recognized Party Caucus
b. BOIE does not report to House
c. 12–15 meetings
d. not published nor available to public
e. outlined in statute
f. BOIE does not review any Estimates

NB
a. Speaker is Chairman, 2 Ministers, 2 Private Members from each of Government and Opposition
b. BOIE reports to House after each meeting—does not report when House not sitting
c. 10 meetings
d. not published nor available to public
e. outlined in Standing Rules of House
f. L.A. Estimates

QUE
a. Speaker is Chairman, 4 Private Members from Government, 3 Opposition Members—per diem allowance of $109
b. all decisions of BOIE are tabled in House
c. every two weeks since establishment
d. not published—available to public after tabling
e. outlined in statute
f. L.A. Estimates

ONT
a. Speaker is Chairman, 3 Ministers, 1 Private Member from each party
b. BOIE does not report to House
c. 13 meetings
d. published periodically—available to public within 48 hours of meeting
e. outlined in statute
f. L.A., Ombudsman, Provincial Auditor, Election Office, Election Finances Commission

MAN
a. Speaker is Chairperson, 4 Government Members (incl. Cabinet Ministers), 3 Opposition Members
b. BOIE reports to House—must report annually
c. 6 meetings
d. become public when tabled in House
e. outlined in statute
f. L.A., Election Office, Ombudsman, Provincial Auditor

SASK
a. Speaker is Chairman, 2 Ministers, 2 Private Members from each of Government and Official Opposition
b. BOIE has authority to report to House
c. 5 meetings
d. not published nor available to public
e. outlined in statute
f. L.A. Estimates, including Legislative Library, Legislative Counsel and Law Clerk

ALTA
a. Speaker is Chairman, 1 Minister and 6 Private Members from Government, 3 Opposition Members
b. BOIE has authority to report to House—does so on ad hoc basis
c. 12 meetings
d. published and available to public
e. nowhere outlined
f. L.A. Estimates

BC
a. b. c. d. e. f. N/A

NWT
a. Speaker is Chairman, 2 Ministers, 2 Private Members, including Chairman of Standing Committee on Finance
b. BOIE has authority to report to House—does so on ad hoc basis
c. 10 meetings
d. not published nor available to public
e. terms of reference set by Legislative Assembly Act
f. L.A. Estimates

YUKON
a. Speaker is Chairman, Government Leader, Opposition Leader, Third Party Leader, Government House Leader

b. BOIE has authority to report to House—does so on ad hoc basis
c. 4 meetings
d. not published nor available to public
e. outlined in resolution of House
f. L.A. Estimates

Legislative Assembly Estimates Review Procedure

The preparation and review of the Estimates of the Legislature did not change in any of the thirteen jurisdictions over the past year.

In five jurisdictions the Estimates are prepared by the Clerk's Office, in Newfoundland in direct cooperation with the Speaker. In the remaining jurisdictions they are prepared by administrative staff, with the exception of British Columbia where the Estimates of the Legislature are put together in the Speaker's Office.

With the exception of Nova Scotia, the Estimates are first approved by the Board of Internal Economy or its equivalent. In Prince Edward Island they are further reviewed by the Treasury Board and Cabinet, whereas in the remaining jurisdictions they are directly sent to the Chairman of Management Board or the Treasurer for inclusion in the Government Estimates. In four jurisdictions the Legislature's Estimates are considered by a Standing Committee; in the remainder they are referred to the Committee of the Whole House or Committee of Supply.

As is the case with the Estimates of a government ministry or department, the Estimates of the Legislature are rarely if ever reduced by the Assembly. However as *Canadian Legislatures* goes to press, the Opposition parties in the Ontario Legislature have publicly indicated that they will seek to reduce the Estimates of the Assembly and delete the funds allocated for the Office of the Clerk Emeritus.

Table 19 LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ESTIMATES REVIEW PROCEDURE

H of C	prepared by H of C Administrative Staff—approved by Speaker and BOIE—delivered to President of Treasury Board (as per September/85 revision to House of Commons Act)—included in Government Estimates and tabled in House by President of Treasury Board—referred to Standing Committee on Management and Members' Services—defended by Speaker
NFLD	prepared by Clerk and Speaker—approved by BOIE—delivered to Minister of Finance for inclusion in Government Estimates and tabled in House—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Minister of Finance
PEI	prepared by Office of the Clerk—devised by BOIE and reviewed by Treasury Board—Estimates approved by Cabinet—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Premier
NS	prepared by Director of Administration—approved by Management Board—tabled in House by Minister of Management Board—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Speaker
NB	prepared by Clerk's Office—approved by BOIE—delivered to Chairman of Board of Management for inclusion in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Committee of Supply—defended by Premier
QUE	prepared by Administrative staff—approved by BOIE—delivered to Minister of Finance for inclusion in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Speaker
ONT	prepared by Administrative staff—approved by BOIE—delivered to Treasurer for inclusion in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Treasurer—referred to Standing Committee—defended by Speaker and other BOIE members
MAN	prepared by L.A. staff—approved by BOIE—delivered to Minister of Finance for inclusion in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Standing Committee—defended by Member of BOIE designated by Speaker
SASK	prepared by Clerk's Office—approved by BOIE—delivered to Minister of Finance for

Table 19 LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ESTIMATES REVIEW PROCEDURE

	inclusion in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Standing Committee—defended by Speaker
ALTA	prepared by internal committee of department heads—submitted to Director of Administration and Clerk Assistant for co-ordination—approved by BOIE—tabled in House by Provincial Treasurer—Government and L.A. Estimates in separate documents—referred to Committee of Supply—defended by BOIE members other than Speaker
BC	prepared by Speaker—included in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Provincial Secretary
NWT	prepared by Manager, Finance—submitted by Clerk for approval by BOIE—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Chairman of BOIE
YUKON	prepared by Clerk—approved by BOIE—delivered to Minister of Finance for inclusion in Government Estimates—tabled in House by Minister of Finance—referred to Committee of Whole House—defended by Government and Opposition Leaders

Hansard Reporting Service

During the past year the budget for Hansard did not appreciably change in seven jurisdictions. In Nova Scotia, however, the budget rose by close to 30% to $319,000 as a result of the purchase of new equipment. In contrast, in British Columbia the Hansard budget fell by 17% to $677,000.

The most costly Hansard Service is, not surprisingly, that of the House of Commons where the budget is $6.5 million. This is in contrast with the Yukon where the Hansard budget is $228,000 for three years. Although Prince Edward Island remains the only Canadian jurisdiction without Hansard, the proceedings of Question Period are transcribed daily, printed by the Legislature, and delivered the next day.

Four jurisdictions—Québec, Ontario, Saskatchewan and the House of Commons—provide an in-house video system in addition to the printed Hansard. The most recent system is found in Ontario, where the Broadcast and Recording Service has initiated gavel-to-gavel coverage of proceedings in the Chamber and in one Committee Room. In the Northwest Territories Hansard is printed in both the Inuit and English languages. In addition House proceedings are simultaneously translated into four additional aboriginal languages.

Ontario is currently the only jurisdiction which provides in-house televised coverage of Committees and, like the House of Commons, broadcasts all proceedings in both English and French.

Table 20 HANSARD REPORTING SERVICE

	a. budget *b. service*
H of C	*a.* $6,506,000 (includes cost of printing) *b.* bilingual service provided in-house—printed externally to the House by the Canadian Government Publishing Centre—final House copy produced in 24 hours—2–3 days for committees
NFLD	*a.* $272,200 *b.* no bilingual service—printed by Government department—final House copy produced in 24 hours—3-4 days for committees
PEI	*a.* no Hansard *b.* proceedings are recorded on tape but only transcribed on request—Question Period is transcribed and printed in-house for next day delivery
NS	*a.* $319,000 *b.* no bilingual service—printed by Government department—final House copy produced by morning following debate—2 days for committees

NB
a. integrated in Clerk's Office vote
b. bilingual service—printed by commercial firm—several months required to produce final copy for House and committees

QUE
a. $2,961,100
b. no bilingual service—printed by commercial firm—final House and committee copy produced in 48 hours

ONT
a. $2,688,400
b. no bilingual service—printed by commercial firm—final House copy produced in 48 hours—up to 10 days for committees

MAN
a. $407,000
b. no bilingual service—typeset by commercial firm—printed by Queen's Printer—final House copy produced in 24 hours—2 days for committees

SASK
a. $482,210
b. no bilingual service—typeset in-house—printed by commercial firm—final House and committees copy produced in 24 hours

ALTA
a. $745,344
b. no bilingual service—printed by commercial firm—final House and committees copy produced in 48 hours

BC
a $677,037
b. no bilingual service—printed by Queen's Printer—final House copy produced in 36 hours—committees not printed

NWT
a. $316,000
b. no bilingual service—plans to print in French scheduled for 1989; printed by commercial firm—final House copy produced in 4 days

YUKON
a. $228,000 (for 3-year contract)
b. no bilingual service—transcribed and printed by commercial firm—final House copy produced in 48 hours—time to produce for committees is variable

Legislative Press Gallery

The size of the Press Gallery remains much the same in most Canadian jurisdictions. It is interesting to note that there are four honourary members in the British Columbia Legislature. Alberta, Ontario and the Yukon remain the only jurisdictions where accredited television stations have access to the Chamber. In all other jurisdictions such access is strictly limited to special occasions, although Manitoba allows complete coverage of Question Period which is distributed throughout the Province on a commercial television network.

Table 21 LEGISLATIVE PRESS GALLERY

HOUSE OF COMMONS	
325 members	
news agencies	81
TV	98
radio	59
newspapers	68
magazines	8
freelance	11
NEWFOUNDLAND	
7 members	
radio	3
TV	2
print	2
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	
6—7 members	
radio	2—3
TV	2
print	2
NOVA SCOTIA	
21 members	
radio	10
TV	4
print	7
NEW BRUNSWICK	
21 members	
radio	5
TV	5
print	11

Table 21 LEGISLATIVE PRESS GALLERY

QUEBEC

96 members

radio/TV	29
print	27
technicians	20
cameras	5
researchers	12
producers	3

ONTARIO

40 members

radio	10
TV	6
print	24

MANITOBA

21 members

radio	6
TV	4
print	11

SASKATCHEWAN

32 members

radio	8
TV	8
print	16

ALBERTA

51 members

radio	13
TV	12
print	26

BRITISH COLUMBIA

48 members

radio	10
TV	11
print	27
honorary members	4

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

17 members

radio	9
TV	2
print	6

YUKON

5 members

radio	2
TV	1
print	2

HOUSE STATISTICS

Composition of the House

The information contained in Tables 22, 23 and 24 reflects the composition and activity of the thirteen jurisdictions as of November 1, 1986. They reflect the results of elections in six provincial jurisdictions over the past year.

In Ontario, while 1975 remains the most recent date of redistribution, *The Representation Act*, 1986 received Royal Assent on July 10, 1986 and provides for a major redistribution and an increase in the number of seats from 125 to 130. The Act takes effect upon the dissolution of the 33rd Legislature which is expected within the next eight to twelve months.

The size of the legislature has also increased in two provinces during the past year. In Alberta five seats were added for a total of 84; in British Columbia the Assembly now has 69 Members, an increase of 12.

Table 22 COMPOSITION OF HOUSE

a. number of seats in House
b. distribution of Members
c. date of last redistribution of seats
d. average number of sitting days per yr

H of C	*a.* 282	
	b. Government	209
	Opposition	40
	3rd Party	29
	Independent	2
	Vacant	2
	c. 1976	
	d. 175 days	
NFLD	*a.* 52	
	b. Government	36
	Opposition	15
	3rd Party	1
	c. 1979	
	d. 80 days	
PEI	*a.* 32	
	b. Government	21
	Opposition	11
	c. 1962-63	
	d. 48 days	
NS	*a.* 52	
	b. Government	41
	Opposition	6
	3rd Party	3
	4th Party	1
	Vacant	1
	c. 1981	
	d. 85 days	
NB	*a.* 58	
	b. Government	37
	Opposition	20
	3rd Party	1
	c. 1974	
	d. 60 days	
QUE	*a.* 122	
	b. Government	99
	Opposition	23
	c. 1985	
	d. 90 days	
ONT	*a.* 125	
	b. Government	50
	Opposition	50
	3rd Party	24
	Vacant	1
	c. 1975	
	d. 92	
MAN	*a.* 57	
	b. Government	30
	Opposition	26
	3rd Party	1
	c. 1980	
	d. 75 days	

Table 22 COMPOSITION OF HOUSE

a. number of seats in House
b. distribution of Members
c. date of last redistribution of seats
d. average number of sitting days per yr

SASK	*a.* 64	
	b. Government	38
	Opposition	25
	3rd Party	1
	c. 1980	
	d. 76 days	
ALTA	*a.* 83	
	b. Government	61
	Opposition	16
	3rd Party	4
	4th Party	2
	c. 1986	
	d. 80 days	
BC	*a.* 69	
	b. Government	47
	Opposition	22
	c. 1986	
	d. 83 days	
NWT	*a.* 24	
	b. Consensus Government	
	c. 1983	
	d. 60 days	
YUKON	*a.* 16	
	b. Government	8
	Opposition	6
	3rd Party	1
	Vacancy 1	
	c. 1978	
	d. 40 days	

Legislative Committees

In 1986 a number of changes were made in the number and structure of legislative committees. Although in most jurisdictions the number of Standing Committees remains the same, in Ottawa the number increases from 21 to 28. Similarly in Ontario, a major revision to the Standing Orders included a reorganization of Standing Committees. Most notable was the creation of a Standing Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs which has been given a role in the public consultation process leading up to the introduction of the Budget to the Legislative Assembly.

The number of Select or Special Committees has changed in several jurisdictions. In Alberta, for example, the Select Committees on the Workers' Compensation Board and Senate Reform completed their work. In British Columbia a Special Committee to select a new Ombudsman reported to the House and a new Committee was appointed in June 1986 to recommend a new Auditor General for the Province.

In most Canadian jurisdictions, the Board of Internal Economy or its equivalent approves committee budgets. In some cases the Board distributes a global sum allocated for committee work whereas in others, individual committee budgets are approved by the Board.

Table 23 LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES

a. number of Standing Committees
b. number of Select Committees
c. Committee budget approval mechanism

H of C	*a.* 28 (including 3 Joint with Senate)
	b. Special Committees appointed to study a specific issue, ceasing to exist upon presenting a final report to the House, or when the session ends—Legislative Committees established to examine and report on specific bills or items of legislation, ceasing to exist upon reporting to the House
	c. Individual Committees establish requirements; each Standing Committee chairman presents its budget to the Liaison Committee who recommends to the BOIE the funding level for Standing Committees; BOIE authorizes a block of funds for the fiscal year; the Liaison Committee allocates funds to committees from the block funding after which a committee budget allocation report is sent to the BOIE for ratification. Legislative Committees receive an automatic interim funding; they are required to submit budgets directly to the BOIE if requirements exceed the ceiling. Special Committees present their budgets directly to the BOIE.

NFLD *a.* 4
b. 0
c. Committee budgets are approved by BOIE

PEI *a.* 9
b. 1
c. individual Committees do not have separate budgets—lump sum is placed in L.A. Estimates and distributed to individual Committees as required—method of distribution is determined by BOIE

NS *a.* 15
b. 3
c. Committee budgets are approved by Management Board

NB *a.* 9
b. 5
c. Committee budgets are approved by BOIE

QUE *a.* 9
b. 0
c. individual Committees do not have separate budgets—lump sum is placed in L.A. Estimates and distributed to individual Committees as required

ONT *a.* 10
b. 2
c. Committee budgets are approved by BOIE

MAN *a.* 11
b. 0
c. individual Committees do not have separate budgets—lump sum is placed in L.A. Estimates and distributed to individual Committees as required

SASK *a.* 10
b. 1
c. Committee budgets are approved by BOIE
a. 8

ALTA *b.* 0
c. Committee budgets are approved by BOIE
a. 9

BC *b.* 1
c. Committees do not have separate budgets—a global allocation for Committee expenses is included in L.A. Estimates

NWT *a.* 4
b. 1
c. Committee budgets are approved by BOIE

YUKON *a.* 3
b. 1
c. individual Committees do not have separate budgets—lump sum is placed in L.A. Estimates and distributed to individual Committees as required

Government Business

The number of Government-sponsored statutes enacted in each jurisdiction during the past five years is listed in the following Table. The 1986 figures have been calculated as of June 26, 1986, and will therefore increase as government bills are passed over the remainder of the year.

Table 24 GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

a. number of public bills passed 1986
b. number of public bills passed 1985
c. number of public bills passed 1984
d. number of public bills passed 1983
e. number of public bills passed 1982

H of C *a.* 40
b. 55
c. 38
d. 28
e. 37

NFLD *a.* 49
b. 15
c. 19
d. 85
e. 68

PEI *a.* 20
b. 48
c. 37
d. 46
e. 36

Table 24 GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

a. number of public bills passed 1986
b. number of public bills passed 1985
c. number of public bills passed 1984
d. number of public bills passed 1983
e. number of public bills passed 1982

NS	*a.*	64
	b.	43
	c.	67
	d.	67
	e.	93
NB	*a.*	83
	b.	84
	c.	74
	d.	104
	e.	79
QUE	*a.*	78
	b.	58
	c.	34
	d.	45
	e.	43
ONT	*a.*	29
	b.	7
	c.	53
	d.	89
	e.	62
MAN	*a.*	53
	b.	54
	c.	30
	d.	94
	e.	53
SASK	*a.*	58
	b.	113
	c.	93
	d.	102
	e.	58
ALTA	*a.*	51
	b.	71
	c.	55
	d.	90
	e.	41
BC	*a.*	23
	b.	63
	c.	28
	d.	30
	e.	78
NWT	*a.*	25
	b.	32
	c.	28
	d.	46
	e.	44
YUKON	*a.*	18
	b.	42
	c.	32
	d.	30
	e.	35

THE NEW LEGISLATURE IN THE AMERICAN STATES

(According To Perspectives It Could Be Better Or Worse)

BY ALAN ROSENTHAL

The New Legislature dominates the scene in many—although not all—of the American states. The New Legislature is a very different place from its ancestor of 25 years ago, before the reapportionment revolution and the modernization movement produced dramatic change. It is different, too, from its predecessor of 10 years ago, which then was in the process of taking on new roles and new responsibilities.

The New Legislature is much more professional. Capitol facilities have been renovated and legislative office buildings have been constructed. Staff has expanded enormously and is now available to leaders, committees, party caucuses and sometimes rank-and-file Members. Computerization is well advanced and information of all kinds proliferates.

The New Legislature is harder working and spends more time at its tasks—in session or during interim periods, or both. In states like California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, and Pennsylvania it is practically full-time. In other states a legislator may spend, on the average, half-time or longer on the legislative job.

The New Legislature is more political, and more partisan also; its Members want to carve out careers in public affairs. Nearly all of them strive to hold on to their legislative seats and many are ambitious to move on to higher office. They have become preoccupied with the next election and involved in a campaign that never seems to end. One of their principal activities these days is fund-raising. In this enterprise they are assisted mightily by legislative leaders who, in competitive states, have as a primary goal winning or maintaining their party's control.

The New Legislature takes its constituencies and constituents more seriously. With district offices and personal aides, Members of the New Legislature help people with their problems, intervene on their behalf with state bureaucracy, and visit with them whenever possible. They work tirelessly to "bring home the bacon", to locate roads, bridges, campuses, and other projects in their districts. They attend diligently to the bottom-line on school aid (which is produced on printout after printout from computer runs), in an effort to have the formula and its weightings leave their schools in the best financial shape possible.

The New Legislature is more pressured. Every conceivable interest appears to be organized and the demands of various groups seem to be on the rise. Lobbyists abound; they ingratiate themselves with Members, establishing or solidifying relationships by means of their Public Action Committees (PACs).

The New Legislature is more fragmented, with power dispersed among leaders, standing committees and individual Members. Everyone has an agenda and it is becoming increasingly difficult for leadership to overcome parochial interests and put statewide programs together.

The New Legislature is more aggressive, particularly in its relationships with the executive branch. It currently is participating forcefully in making policy, shaping the budget, and even in overseeing administration.

Look closely at the New Legislature and you might think you were looking at a smaller version of the U.S. Congress. Like it or not, it's here.

Better or Worse

Is the new professional, full-time, political, constituency-oriented, pressured, fragmented, and aggressive legislature a better place, or is it

a worse one? In order to answer that question, it's necessary to ask, "Better or worse for whom, or from whose perspective?"

From the executive perspective—that is, as far as the governor, department heads, and bureaucrats are concerned—the New Legislature is by no means better. The executive is uncomfortably aware that the balance has been shifting. Governors of states like Connecticut, Maryland and New York once ruled the roost; now they have to share power with the legislature. Governors of states like Colorado, Florida, Mississippi and Texas are used to sharing power with the legislature.

Nowadays the legislature is as likely to initiate policy as is the governor. It is a coequal in the policy game. With a virtual monopoly of staff and information and the ability to estimate revenues, the governor formerly controlled the budget game. Not anymore. Today the legislature habitually challenges the governor over money, and its own spending agenda and tighter rein on executive allocations are unsettling to gubernatorial equanimity.

Even more unsettling is the legislature's intervention in administration, through its conduct of legislative oversight and its review and/or veto of administrative rules and regulations. "Meddling in administration", as many governors see it, undermines the separation of powers. To make matters worse the legislature has developed a practice that bureaucrats in particular find alarming. Through its substantive committees the legislature will enact an ambitious program and in the process raise expectations. But, through its appropriations committees, it will fund the program at a minimal level or at least at a level that is not adequate to meet legislative objectives. When the program founders, however, the legislature will put the blame on the poor performance of the department or agency charged with its implementation.

If you ask constituents whether the New Legislature is better or worse you will get a blank stare in response. Most people are unaware of the legislature and unconcerned about its performance. Yet, the relatively small minority who are concerned—and active—must be pleased by the legislature's permeability and the legislative attention paid to them lately. The organized interest groups back home certainly are. The more marginal the district, the more solicitous the representative. But even where districts are "statistically" safe, legislators tend to run scared. They continue to be attentive—and that, in part, is why districts remain safe and why four out of five incumbents get reelected to office.

Legislators advertise their services, beckon people to their district offices, hire personal staff to respond to constituent needs and communicate constantly. People get the impression that their representative cares; indeed, their representative does. Legislators sponsor bills, stake out appropriations, and negotiate state aid formulas for the benefit of their districts. Anyone back home whose diet includes pork or bacon will fare better than they did before. Constituents, moreover, can be confident that their representative will be responsive to their policy preferences if a number of people share them. It does not take many visits or telephone calls or much mail to let a legislator know in which direction the wind, or even a breeze, is blowing. If the issue matters in the district constituents can count on the legislator adjusting his sails accordingly.

New Based Legislators

The legislature is pretty much what it is because so many legislators want it that way. So, from their perspective, the New Legislature is a better place to be. A new breed of legislators has arrived on the scene. They are not the citizen legislators of yesteryear—people experienced in another field, one foot planted in an outside occupation, and a strong identification with an endeavor other than politics. If they start as citizen legislators the strain of two callings may force them to choose one pursuit over the other. Most opt for the political and soon put all their eggs in the legislative basket. If they start as career politicians, just after college or professional school, they choose from the outset to commit themselves to legislative office and—even more important—to whatever office may loom thereafter.

Members of the new breed have the time and taste for campaigning. They enjoy the pressures and know how to get more out of the

lobbyists and PACs than the lobbyists and PACs get out of them. They recognize the benefits, for themselves as well as their districts, of constituent service. They can afford to live on their legislative salaries, which have risen to reasonable levels in more and more places—in New York, in Illinois, in Pennsylvania and California. Their compensation is by no means munificent. But they are willing to sacrifice income for power, as long as they can pursue their principal goals of achievement and advancement. Collegiality is less important to them than it was to their predecessors; power is more so. They insist on a piece of the action.

Finally, there is the perspective of the legislature itself. Although an abstraction, it must be taken into account. As an institution, the legislature is not merely the sum of its parts—the individual Members who comprise it. Yet, the Members who comprise it have a profound effect on its life. As an institution the legislature has purposes of its own, beyond those of the individuals who serve at any one time. Its purposes are mainly a means—a means by which people and interests are represented and policies produced, and a process by which conflict is managed and consensus built.

The legislature is instrumental in that it enables us to attain a variety of public goals. But it is also an end in itself. As such it must be maintained for its own sake, for the process it offers as much as for the policies it produces.

Maintaining the Institution

The well-being of the legislative institution is in jeopardy. It always will be. Other immediate and pressing needs inevitably take precedence, as far as both individual Members and the general public are concerned. However, it is ironic that the legislature's recent success in enhancing its capacity and improving its performance may have placed it in greater jeopardy than before. Political careers, reelection campaigns, constituent service, interest group demands, and the lengthy agenda of public problems (the warp and woof of contemporary politics in the American states) exercise a powerful centrifugal force. Members are pulled away from the core and they neglect matters such as structure, procedure, staff, image and community. Even legislative leaders, who must bear special responsibility, have little left over for institutional tasks. Too many other issues are commanding their time and too many campaigns are sapping their energy.

Therefore, as far as the maintenance of the institution is concerned, the New Legislature is a step backwards. Institutional progress is necessary for institutional maintenance, and progress requires individual effort and individual sacrifice. Not many legislators today are prepared to make the effort; even fewer are willing to make the sacrifice. As its two hundred-year history demonstrates, the legislature is a durable institution. Yet, it needs constant care and attention from its Members. I do not think its needs are being met, and that troubles me.

Alan Rosenthal is Director of the Eagleton Institute of Polictics at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

WHY STATE LEGISLATURES ARE THE MOST REVITALIZED, CHANGED AND CHALLENGED INSTITUTIONS IN AMERICA

BY IRVING J. STOLBERG

American state legislatures—"the first branch of government"—have progressed dramatically over the past 20 years. They are the most revitalized, changed and challenged institutions in America today and they have a vastly increased capacity to govern.

The beginnings of the modern American legislature can be traced back to 1901 when Wisconsin established the first permanent legislative staff by creating the Legislative Reference Bureau. The reapportionment revolution of the mid-1960s was the catalyst for additional modernization of states, prompted by the one-man, one-vote rule handed down by state and federal courts which required equal representation in all districts.

Legislative development during the past decade can best be characterized as a consolidation of previous reforms, such as increasing staff capacity, removing many limits on sessions and salaries and expanding the matters legislatures could consider. The relationships of legislatures with governors and the executive branch, with the Federal Government and with special interest groups, have also undergone considerable change. Trends towards decentralization within legislatures and greater automony for individual lawmakers are apparent. There is a greater emphasis on the constituent service role of the Member, and computers and modern information systems are having a dramatic effect on state legislatures.

New Power for Legislatures

The "new federalism" proposals put forth by President Ronald Reagan have had a major impact on state government and state legislatures. While Congress has not enacted "new federalism" in any systematic, statutory form, it has had a significant effect on state legislatures' function. Increasingly, state legislatures are becoming the primary arena for policymaking and for financing governmental functions hitherto dominated by the federal and local governments.

The increase in the capacity and willingness of legislatures to deal with modern social problems has involved more than mere changes in patterns of representation. As recently as 1941, for instance, only four legislatures held annual sessions. That number grew to 19 by 1962, to 35 in 1972 and to 43 today. Only Arkansas, Kentucky, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon and Texas retain biennial sessions.

Annual pay for lawmakers was an important element in legislative modernization. Most constitutional restrictions on salaries have been removed and today only nine states establish legislators' pay in their constitutions. Salaries presently range from $100 per year in New Hampshire to $46,800 in Alaska. The average legislative pay in 1986 was slightly more than $17,000, although additional compensation in the form of vouchered and unvouchered expenses and additional compensation to leaders (and sometimes to committee chairs) exists in 42 states.

During the 1960s and 1970s limits on time legislatures could remain in session were eliminated or relaxed. Today there are 12 states with no limit on session length. Of the 32 states that constitutionally limit their sessions, two limit only the second year, and six states have statutory or indirect limitations based on cutoffs in salaries or per diem expense payments.

More Full-time Lawmakers

Session limits have spawned a continuing discussion about whether a lawmaker's responsibilities should be considered "full-time" or "part-time", and whether a legislature can maintain an active policy and oversight role if it meets in limited session.

Whether a legislature is full-time in nature generally can be measured by factors such as time spent in session, level of compensation and occupational self-definition of Members. In addition, full-time legislators place a high priority on constituent services and spend considerable time in district offices.

The legislatures of California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin have lengthy sessions, relatively high legislator salaries and many Members whose primary occupation is "legislator". None of these states have constitutionally-imposed session limitations, although both California and Wisconsin adopt a systematic schedule of committee and floor activity, as well as recess periods, at the beginning of each biennium. Many of the legislatures that have longer sessions meet only two or three days a week, while in other states with more restricted sessions, five and six day work weeks are common. Several of the medium-sized states spend as many actual legislative days in session as do the full-time legislatures.

The number of lawmakers who define their occupation as "legislator" is increasing. A recent survey conducted by the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) found that more than half the legislators in New York and Pennsylvania define their occupation as "legislator". The study also indicated that in larger states the number of "business owners" who are members of the legislature is much smaller than it is in states with more limited sessions. Lawyer legislators exist in greatest numbers in the South. In a number of states members engaged in "education" outnumber those in any other professional background. People working in "agriculture" still exist in every legislature, but are found in the greatest number in rural Midwestern and Mountain states. The number of women and minorities in the legislatures continues to increase each biennium. There are now more than 1,100 women and nearly 400 minorities among the nation's 7,461 state legislators.

A continuing preoccupation of legislatures is the time management during session, and most have adopted some type of committee and floor-scheduling system, as well as deadlines for bill filing and legislative action.

Stronger Committee Systems

Other factors contributing to the modernization of the American state legislature are stronger committee systems and procedures and a greater emphasis on interim committee activities. While committee strength varies from state to state, committees in most legislatures have been reduced in number, have greater substantive expertise than in the past and are more influential in shaping legislation. Most bills are killed in committee, not on the floor, and money committees have become increasingly powerful. Additionally, committees in many legislatures work during the interim period, as well.

A sign of the changing environment of legislatures is illustrated by the fact that 29 can call themselves into special session, and they do so with increasing frequency. Greater independence and split partisan control in the branches of government has resulted in the override of more gubernatorial vetoes than in the past. There are some states, New York for instance, where until recently more than a century had passed without a veto override.

These changes have been accompanied by continual expansion of staff, facilities and information resources. The permanent staff of state legislatures now totals more than 16,000 employees, with another 9,000 temporary or session staff. Nearly all this staff growth occurred since 1969, with the development of specialized staff in such areas as fiscal, legal services, auditing and program evaluation, administrative rule review, computer services and committee staff. In the past decade personal staff for legislators and caucus staff has similarly grown.

Legislative staff was originally organized largely in central agencies, but recent years have seen the decentralization and specializa-

tion of staff. Although decentralization may now be an irreversible trend, both Illinois and Nebraska have moved to assert more centralized leadership control because of management problems with a fragmented staff.

Legislative modernization has meant improved facilities in nearly every state. At the beginning of the legislative reform movement few states provided more to lawmakers than their desk on the floor. Committee rooms were non-existent or inadequate. Legislatures have gradually moved other governmental offices out of capitol buildings to increase space available to lawmakers for new offices and modern committee and staff facilities.

Expanded Information Resources

Information resources have also expanded steadily. Increased staff has meant more independent information and support for state legislatures. Modern word processing and information systems facilitate tracking appropriations, contribute to more effective legislative oversight, streamline bill processing, record keeping and bill status, and make communication with constituents easier.

As legislatures have modernized, increased their realm of responsibility and expanded their staffs, NCSL has been a partner in their growth. The National Conference of State Legislatures was created in 1975 to improve the quality and effectiveness of state legislatures; to foster interstate communication and cooperation; and to ensure that state legislatures have a strong and cohesive voice in the Federal Government.

All 7,461 state lawmakers and their staffs are members of the Conference, as are legislators in the five U.S. territories and commonwealths. The organization is governed by a 54-member executive committee, composed of 36 lawmakers and 18 professional staff members who take office each year on December 1.

The policy work of the Conference is conducted by both the Assembly on the Legislature (AOL) and the State-Federal Assembly (SFA). Both legislators and staff can be members of AOL, the purpose of which is to promote the exchange of ideas and information on state issues among the 50 state legislatures. It enables each legislature to benefit from the experiences of other states in shaping public policy, experimenting with the new laws and managing the legislative institution.

The State-Federal Assembly, on the other hand, informs legislators of developments in state-federal relations, identifies issues of critical concern and serves as a forum for discussion among the 50 state legislatures. SFA members testify at congressional and agency hearings on issues of concern to states and provide guidance to the NCSL staff which lobbies Congress, the White House and Federal agencies.

NCSL Leadership Training

Legislative leaders play a prominent role in shaping public policy in their states. To help these men and women meet the challenges and management problems they face, NCSL has designed leadership retreats and workshops that link veteran leaders who are willing to share their experience and knowledge with newly elected leaders. The Conference also conducts in-depth studies of procedural issues, rules reform, budget procedures and information systems for states at the request of leaders.

In addition, the Conference also schedules a Symposium for New Leaders every two years, and a Leader-to-Leader meeting every year to bring together policymakers in the states with those in Congress, the administration and the White House. In the summer leaders meet informally with nationally-known pollsters, economists and private sector and government leaders at the NCSL Annual Meeting.

Each year, both the NCSL Office of State Services and the Office of State-Federal Relations answer thousands of requests for information and research from state legislators and their staffs. In response to these requests, the Conference often conducts 50-state surveys of legislative procedures and government policies, drawing on research conducted by the states, the federal government and national research and interest groups. NCSL has also developed LEGISNET, the only research data base of its kind. LEGISNET is available to all state legislators and staff and contains abstracts

of thousands of legislative research reports, public policy documents, legislation on selected topics and numerous 50-state surveys, as well as private sector and association research reports.

When states request it NCSL can provide expert witnesses to testify before legislative committees and act as adjunct staff to those committees; can consult on special management projects such as studies of rules or staffing; can assist legislators and staff serving on federal advisory committees and commissions in preparing for meetings; and can conduct training programs to improve the skills of lawmakers and staff members. The Conference also assigns one or two of its staff members to each state to serve as liaison between NCSL and the state.

NCSL has also created the Foundation for State Legislatures as a tax-exempt, non-profit corporation to encourage private sector support in funding projects that improve the quality and effectiveness of state legislatures; encourage communication between business and state legislatures; and help educate the public on the purposes and responsibilities of the 50 legislatures.

Since 1979 when it was first initiated, the Canada—U.S.A. Legislative Project has become an increasingly important catalyst for bringing together Canadian provincial cabinet ministers and U.S. state legislative leaders to examine various areas of mutual concern. Originating with seed-funding to NCSL from the William H. Donner Foundation, the Project under the joint auspices of NCSL and a group of Canadian provincial legislators has brought together legislative leaders semi-annually to examine such issues as energy, transportation, trade, health services and high-tech developments. This program is an excellent example of the work which NCSL has been able to do in helping to foster the strengthening of ties between state legislators and their counterparts abroad.

There is no question that the American legislature is a dynamic institution which continually increases its capacity to govern. Legislatures today are more capable and aggressive in budgeting, program oversight and policymaking than they were a decade ago. They have shed their reputation as "19th-century institutions" and have assumed, as pollster Louis Harris says, "the burden and privilege of innovation and shaping what the future will be".

State legislatures today are indeed the most creative and the most experimental government institutions in the United States.

Representative Irving J. Stolberg is President of the National Conference of State Legislatures and is a Member of the Connecticut House of Representatives.

A Comparison of Canadian and United States Legislatures

When comparing the legislative branch expenditures in the ten Canadian provinces with those in the top ten U.S. states by population some interesting contrasts can be identified. However, it should be remembered that provincial legislatures play a somewhat different role than do state legislatures. Moreover because of the greater role played by provincial governments in Canada, the legislature has greater responsibilities in Canada than in the U.S. One appropriate measure of this is the fact that in most cases the budgets of Canadian legislatures are a smaller percentage of total provincial expenditures as compared to the budgets of state legislatures considered as a percent of total state government expenditures. This is because Canadian provinces generally have larger budgets than U.S. states of comparable size.

Consider first Québec, with a population of 6,618,500, as compared to the State of New Jersey with a population of 7,562,000. In Québec close to $70 million was allocated for the National Assembly in 1985-86 as compared to $29 million for the New Jersey Legislature. Both legislatures have approximately 120 Members. Therefore, in Québec over $500,000 is spent per Member as compared to just over $200,000 in New Jersey. On a per capita basis, Québec comes in at $9.66 and New Jersey at $3.88. However, the additional costs of the Québec Legislature can be understood in view of the fact that the budget for the State of New Jersey is only half as big as that of the Province of Québec and that the Québec Government is responsible for a much wider array of programs and issues.

A similar comparison can be made between the Province of Ontario where 125 Members represent a population of over 9 million and the State of Michigan where the 148 Members of the Legislature represent a similar number of people. In Ontario the budget for the Legislature in 1985-86 was approximately $52 million or $5.70 per capita. In Michigan the budget was just over $56 million or $6.18 per capita. The legislature budgets per legislator are similar as well, approximately $418,000 in Ontario and $353,000 in Michigan. Once again, however, the Ontario Legislature oversees a much larger provincial budget as compared to its U.S. counterpart. In Ontario the Assembly budget is only 0.16% of the total provincial budget as compared to Michigan where the legislature budget is 0.40% of total State Government expenditures.

A final comparison of interest can be made between the Province of British Columbia and the State of North Carolina. Both jurisdictions have legislative budgets of between $10 and $11 million. The total government budgets are also quite similar—$9 billion in British Columbia in 1985-86, close to $8 billion in North Carolina. However, there are also important differences between the two. The population of the State of North Carolina is over six million, more than twice the population of British Columbia. Moreover the State Legislature has 170 Members as compared to the then 69 Members in British Columbia. Therefore, the British Columbia Legislature costs more on a per legislator basis, approximately $524,000 in British Columbia as compared to $63,000 in North Carolina and is also more expensive on a per capita basis. However it must be noted that

Table 25 1985 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH EXPENDITURES IN TEN LARGEST U.S. STATES

State	*Population*[1] *(In $1000)*	*General Government Estimates*[2] *(In $1000)*	*Number of Legislators*	*Legislative Branch Expenditures*[3] *(In $1000)*	*Legislative Branch Per Capita*
California	26,365	$45,774,836	120	$122,907	$4.66
New York	17,783	$33,358,620	211	$109,994	$5.70
Texas	16,370	$17,535,597	181	$ 43,147	$2.63
Pennsylvania	11,853	$15,088,135	253	$ 68,341	$5.77
Illinois	11,535	$14,781,436	177	$ 37,622	$3.26
Florida	11,366	$12,147,670	160	$ 37,241	$3.28
Ohio	10,744	$14,071,365	132	$ 19,923	$1.85
Michigan	9,088	$14,063,002	148	$ 56,201	$6.18
New Jersey	7,562	$11,858,056	120	$ 29,375	$3.88
North Carolina	6,255	$ 7,828,407	170	$ 10,721	$1.71

[1]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Preliminary Figures as of July 1, 1985.
[2]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Preliminary Figures as of November 1, 1986.
[3]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Preliminary Figures as of November 1, 1986.
[4]This is the ranking of Legislative Expenditure as Percent of General Expenditures for 1984.

Table 26 1985 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH EXPENDITURES IN CANADIAN PROVINCES

Province	*Population*[1]	*Government Estimates*[2] *(In $1000)*	*Number of Legislators*	*Legislative Branch Expenditures (In $1000)*	*Legislative Branch Per Capita*
Ontario	9,164,400	$32,460,000	125	$52,281	$ 5.70
Quebec	6,618,500	$27,022,178	122	$63,959	$ 9.66
B.C.	2,901,000	$ 9,099,100	69	$10,459	$ 3.61
Alberta	2,384,200	$10,037,567	83	$12,081	$ 5.07
Manitoba	1,077,200	$ 3,644,788	57	$ 4,428	$ 4.11
Saskatchewan	1,020,200	$ 3,632,623	64	$ 8,880	$ 8.70
Nova Scotia	883,100	$ 3,020,990	52	$ 4,542	$ 5.14
N.B.	720,900	$ 2,921,800	58	$ 5,123	$ 7.11
Newfoundland	580,000	$ 2,412,000	52	$ 7,633	$13.16
P.E.I.	128,000	$ 506,232	32	$ 1,318	$10.29

[1]Statistics Canada, Updated Post-Censal Estimates as of July 1, 1985
[2]Figures from 1985-86 Expenditure Estimates or Actual Expenditures for Individual Provinces.

Legislative Branch per Legislator	*Legislative Branch as Percent of State Expenditures*	*Rank on Legislative Expenditure as Percent of General Expenditures*[4]
$1,024,225	0.27%	19
$ 521,299	0.33%	16
$ 238,381	0.25%	29
$ 270,123	0.45%	5
$ 212,554	0.25%	27
$ 232,756	0.30%	49
$ 150,932	0.14%	14
$ 379,737	0.40%	12
$ 244,792	0.25%	33
$ 63,065	0.14%	48

Legislative Branch per Legislator	*Legislative Branch as Percent of Provincial Expenditures*	*Rank on Legislative Expenditure as Percent of General Expenditures*
$418,248	0.16%	6
$524,254	0.23%	4
$151,579	0.11%	9
$145,554	0.12%	8
$ 77,684	0.12%	8
$138,750	0.24%	3
$ 87,346	0.15%	7
$ 88,328	0.18%	5
$146,788	0.32%	1
$ 41,188	0.26%	2

the operation and the responsibilities of the British Columbia Legislature are very different from those of the North Carolina Assembly. Furthermore, even though the British Columbia House is small and cost effective by Canadian standards, as outlined in Table 25, it cannot compare to North Carolina which ranked 48 among the 50 state legislatures in terms of legislative expenditures as a percentage of general state government expenditures.

Generally speaking, Canadian legislatures have fewer Members than U.S. state legislatures where there is generally both an upper and a lower House. However, legislative budgets tend to be higher in Canada. There are two reasons for this. First, provincial expenditures tend to be higher than the expenditure of states of similar size, and second, Canadian legislatures tend to meet more often. Moreover, more Canadian legislators are full-time Members in contrast to the United States where low salaries and short sessions have meant that most Members of U.S. state legislatures are there only part-time.

A Kaleidoscope of Members' Services from Alaska to Wyoming

Without a doubt, no two state legislatures take the same approach to remunerating Members and providing them with services. Each state is a bit different from the next and overall there is a wide range in the salaries and per diems paid to American state legislators and the services provided to them both in the state capitol and in their districts.

The information on American state legislatures presented in the following tables is obtained from a variety of sources. The main source is staff in each of the legislatures who have kindly supplied data on their particular situation. This is supplemented with data from the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) in Denver and the U.S. Bureau of the Census. However the differences between the states makes it difficult to compare them. For example, it is not easy to calculate how much legislators are paid in a given state because this depends on the actual number of days the legislature was in session and the amount of committee work and travelling Members did during the course of the year.

Given that there are more differences between the states than there are similarities, what follows is a sampling of Members' services and remuneration from Alaska to Wyoming. The Editors have attempted to provide a sense of both the diversity and the uniqueness of American state legislatures.

ALABAMA continues to pay Members of the House of Representatives $10 per day for each sitting day, a figure set in the 1901 Constitution.

ALASKA provides a budget of $1,270,000 to the Speaker of the House to fund interim committees, staff, travel, etc. when the House is not in session.

ARIZONA provides one secretary for every two Members during the session but maintains only one secretary for every five Members during the interim.

ARKANSAS makes available up to $485 per month to each Member to defray the cost of secretarial help, office space, telephones, postage, etc. Members are also reimbursed for travel to conventions and workshops but such travel must be approved by the Speaker before any reimbursement can be made.

CALIFORNIA is one of the few states which specifically provides for the mailing of a district-wide newsletter and funds three every two years providing they are strictly non-partisan. California Members also may utilize a Fellows program similar to Canadian Internship programs.

COLORADO Members receive an annual salary of $17,500, payable at the rate of $2,187.50 for the first four months of the year and $1,093.75 for the remaining eight months of the year.

CONNECTICUT allocates $850 per year to each Member for bulk mailings and provides in-House printing of newsletters. Members receive a mileage allowance of 20 cents per mile. Connecticut being the third smallest state, most Members commute to the Legislature from their homes.

DELAWARE, the smallest state in the Union, has a population of just under 600,000 and an average of approximately 9,700 people for each of the 62 Members of the House and Senate. In California there is an average of about 219,000 people per Member.

FLORIDA allows each Member to employ two staff in his/her district office, one of whom is authorized to travel with the Member and is paid a sessional subsistence allowance of $50 per day. Florida Members also receive paid life and health insurance coverage.

GEORGIA has a large House of Representatives made up of 180 Members 21 of whom are women In addition to an annual salary of $7200, Members receive a yearly supplement of $4800 for office materials and assistance.

HAWAII has a total of 51 Members in the House of Representatives who are paid $15,600 a year. In 1986 the House met in special session for four days in June to consider tort reform.

IDAHO includes Members of the House in the health insurance and retirement plans provided for state employees. The State pays the entire premium for health insurance coverage for all state employees and Members.

INDIANA Members can draw upon the services of the Legislative Services Agency which is the professional bi-partisan staff agency of the Indiana General Assembly. Between 60 and 65 staff provide bill drafting, legal research, fiscal analysis and performance auditing.

IOWA has reduced the rate at which Members are reimbursed for mileage for trips to and from the Capitol during the session. The rate was fixed at 24 cents a mile and was reduced to 21 cents a mile.

ILLINOIS provides an annual allowance of $27,000 to each Member for district office expenses. In addition, Members can access the Intergovernmental Cooperation Commission, one of ten legislative agencies which provide assistance and services to Members. The Commission, which maintains an office in Washington, assists Members in understanding intergovernmental issues and communicating with other federal, state and local governments.

KANSAS continues its arrangement whereby Members receive $54 salary per calendar day for service at any regular or special session of the Assembly; a $63 per day subsistence allowance; and an additional allowance of $600 per calendar year (except January, February and March) to defray costs between sessions for postage telephone, office supplies and incidentals.

KENTUCKY provides Members with an in-session mileage allowance of 20 cents per mile for one round trip per week of the session, plus the cost of any road tolls. The mileage allowance is tied to the federal mileage allowance.

LOUISIANA pays Members of both the House and Senate at the same rate of $1400 per month. This is a decrease from 1985 when the rate was $1600 per month. Members of both Houses receive the same per diem payments and other allowances and benefits. Louisiana was the host of the 12th Annual Meeting of the National Conference of State Legislatures, August 3-8, 1986 in New Orleans.

MAINE does not provide funds for district offices for Members of the Legislature although they do receive an allowance of $330 per year for mailing and telephone costs.

MARYLAND Members can draw on the services of the Department of Legislative Reference, the principal staffing agency of the General Assembly. Created in 1906, the Department employs 75 full-time and approximately 90 contractual staff and provides bill drafting, research, computer and library services as well as professional staff for legislative committees.

MASSACHUSETTS continues to pay its lawmakers one of the highest salaries among U.S. state legislators. Since 1983 Members receive $30,000 per year. Massachusetts also has a House Standing Committee on Steering and Policy which advises the Speaker of the House on a range of issues including the administration of the Assembly.

MICHIGAN pays Members of the House $36,520, an increase of just less than 5% over 1985. Members of the House of Representative are provided with printing, mailing and telephone services and these are strictly monitored by the House to ensure that they are not used for partisan purposes.

MINNESOTA employs a total of approximately 220 full-time staff to serve the 134 Members of the House of Representatives. Of this total, each Caucus employs about a dozen research/media staff and approximately 100 staff are in non-partisan positions.

MISSISSIPPI Members receive a salary of $10,000 and an allowance of $500/month for expenses incidental to holding office. Members continue to have the option of receiving $8100/year in lieu of the $10,000/year and $210/ month in lieu of the $500/month.

MISSOURI has changed the retirement benefits for Members who are now eligible for full benefits at age 55, providing they have served a minimum of five terms (10 years). Members

having served less than five terms receive, upon retirement, a monthly annuity of $75 to $100 depending on the number of terms they have served.

MONTANA legislators continue to serve with no salary although they do receive $52.13 per day, 7 days a week, while the House is in session. Members do not have offices in either their district or in the State Capitol and work from their desks in the Chamber.

NEBRASKA is the only unicameral legislature in the United States and has been so since 1937. There are 49 Members each of whom is referred to as a "Senator". Each Member has two staff and an office in the Capitol.

NEVADA pays Members of the Assembly $130 per day for the first 60 calendar days of a regular legislative session even though the session may go for up to 120 days every two years. Members also receive a $56 per diem allowance for living expenses while the House is in session.

NEW HAMPSHIRE continues to pay its legislators the least of all the states. Members receive $200 compensation for their two-year term, an amount first set in 1889. The House meets for a maximum of 45 days per year and with 400 Members is the largest state legislative body in the U.S.

NEW JERSEY pays the Members of the Legislature a salary of $25,000 and no other per diems, travel allotments, or compensation is paid. However, Members do receive an allowance of $45,000 to defray staff and other costs relating to their district offices.

NEW MEXICO provides for the payment of $75 per day to legislators for each day of regular and special sessions. Members also receive the same daily amount for interim committee work.

NEW YORK legislators receive a basic annual salary of $43,000 per year. In addition a large number of Members receive additional indemnities ranging from $6-13,000 as part of their work on committees.

NORTH CAROLINA is the tenth largest state in terms of population. Members of the General Assembly benefit from a retirement plan and their contribution is set at 7% of their annual compensation.

NORTH DAKOTA legislators receive a salary of $90 per day while the Assembly is in session. However the Legislative Assembly did not meet in 1986, although it will meet again in regular session beginning in January 1987.

OHIO is now the fifth largest state by population, although it spends less on the Legislature as compared to states of similar size. Nonetheless, Ohio legislators are relatively well paid and receive an annual salary of $31,659-a 5% increase over 1985.

OKLAHOMA provides reimbursement for travel outside the State as approved by the Speaker. Members receive a maximum of $60 per day plus air fare, or can opt for the actual cost of hotel accommodation plus $24 per day for meals. All out-of-state travel is limited to 5 days per trip.

OREGON provides Members with $2,576 per month during the session for staff. Members usually hire two staff and salaries cannot exceed $2,000 per month.

PENNSYLVANIA legislators, unlike their colleagues in most other state legislatures, are in session most of the year. There are no formal limits on sessions except for the expiration of Member's terms when the House recesses from December 1 to the first week of January.

RHODE ISLAND Members receive $300 annually based on the payment of $5 per day. Amendments to the State Constitution are currently being considered, which would change compensation to Members to the average weekly earnings of Rhode Island manufacturing workers.

SOUTH CAROLINA legislators are required to adjourn on the first Thursday in June although the session can be extended upon a joint resolution adopted by ⅔ majority. Since 1979 the House adjourned as required on only two occasions and in both cases the Governor called the House back into regular session.

SOUTH DAKOTA Members continue to be among the lowest paid, receiving $6,000 for each two-year term. It should be noted, however, that the session lasts only 35 days in the first year and 40 days in the second year of each two-year session.

TENNESSEE Representatives are paid an annual salary of $12,500 and receive a $75 per day expense allowance. They also receive a

monthly unvouchered home office allowance of $325.

TEXAS is the third largest state by population but ranks fifth in terms of its legislative branch expenditures. Members of the House receive an annual salary of $7,200, an additional $30 per day while the House is in session, and are allowed up to $6,500 per month for district offices.

UTAH legislators who serve for four or more years are eligible to receive a pension upon their retirement from the Legislature. They receive $10 per month per year and the State pays all contributions into the retirement plan.

VERMONT Members of the General Assembly continue to be entitled to $285 weekly during a biennial session, and $300 weekly for an adjourned session. During a special session a Member is entitled to $57 per day for each day of the session which has been called between the biennial and the adjourned session, and $60 a day if called at any time following the adjourned session. These amounts will rise in January 1987.

VIRGINIA Members met for two months beginning January 8, 1986, and again in September in a Special Session dealing with transportation. Members receive an annual salary of $11,000 and a per diem of $71 while the House is in session. Members also have the option of employing a legislative aide at a salary of up to $9,000 per year.

WASHINGTON legislators receive an annual salary of $13,750, a per diem allowance of $50 while the House is in session, and are provided with a quarterly expense allowance of $900 for expenses incurred in their district while the House is recessed.

WEST VIRGINIA Representatives were paid $6,500 in 1986 and allocated a $50 per day allowance for each day the House was in session. In addition to the two-month regular session, West Virginia legislators met in special session in May to consider flood relief, and from July 18 to September 9 to consider child support enforcement and a judicial retirement system.

WISCONSIN Members receive $8,377 for office expenses in addition to an annual salary of $27-30,000. In 1983, 23 of the 99 Members in the Legislature were women, the average age of Members was 33, and 28 Members held post-graduate degrees.

WYOMING legislators receive a salary of $75 per day and per diem expenses of $60 per day. During the session Members also receive secretarial assistance, postage and telephone service. In the interim they work out of their homes with telephone credit cards and stationery for legislative business.

Table 27 1986 U.S. STATE LEGISLATURES ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE COMPENSATION AND PER DIEM LIVING EXPENSES

State	*Annual Salaries* $	*Per Diem Salary*	*Per Diem Living Expenses During Session*
Alabama		$10	$85 (unvouchered)
Alaska	48,000		None, but annual allowance of $4,000
Arizona	15,000		$60 ($35 for Maricopa County legislators) (unvouchered)
Arkansas	7,500		$50 (vouchered) + $20 for each sitting day
California	37,105		$75 (unvouchered) $95 in high cost areas
Colorado	17,500		$35 (up to $70 if Member lives outside Denver) (unvouchered)
Connecticut	15,200		Receive no per diem but $3,500 annually (unvouchered)
Delaware	20,000		Receive no per diem, but $5,000 annually
Florida	18,900		$50 (unvouchered)
Georgia	7,200		$59 (unvouchered)
Hawaii	15,600		$45 (for legislators outside of Oahu) (unvouchered)
Idaho	$30/day when in session; $30/day when not in session if engaged in legislative business; $7/calendar day when not in regular session		$60 ($35 if legislators commute) (unvouchered)
Illinois	33,962		$69 (unvouchered)
Indiana	11,600		$75 (unvouchered)
Iowa	14,600		$40 (unvouchered) Members from Polk County (Capitol) receive only $25 (unvouchered)
Kansas		$54 per day	$63 (unvouchered)
Kentucky		$100 per day for actual attendance	$75 actual daily attendance (unvouchered)
Louisiana	16,800		$75 (unvouchered)
Maine	7,500 first year of biennial session and 4,000 in the second year		$50 ($24 for Augusta legislators) (vouchered)
Maryland	21,000		$72 for actual daily attendance (unvouchered)
Massachusetts	30,000		Per diem of $25, $45 or $50 depending on where legislator lives + $2,400 annually

Table 27 1986 U.S. STATE LEGISLATURES ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE COMPENSATION AND PER DIEM LIVING EXPENSES

State	*Annual Salaries* $	*Per Diem Salary*	*Per Diem Living Expenses During Session*
Michigan	36,520		Total of $6,700 annually (vouchered)
Minnesota	22,350		$36 ($23 for metropolitan legislators (unvouchered)
Mississippi	10,000 although Members can elect to receive $8,100 per year		$44 for actual daily attendance (none for Jackson legislators) (unvouchered)
Missouri	20,244.24		$35 for actual daily attendance (unvouchered)
Montana		$52.13/day, 7 days/ week during session	
Nebraska	4,800		$55 if more than 100 miles away, $25 if less than 100 miles
Nevada		$130 per day (up to $6,800)	$56 maximum (unvouchered)
New Hampshire	200 for a 2 year term		Receive per diem of $15 for meals when travelling but receive mileage for every session day
New Jersey	25,000		Receive no per diem
New Mexico		$75/session day; 60 days in odd-numbered and 30 days in even-numbered years	Receive no per diem
New York	43,000		Up to $100 (vouchered)
North Carolina	13,164 includes 10,140/year and 252/month		$79 (unvouchered)
North Dakota		$90/day	Maximum of $600 per month for legislators outside Bismark (unvouchered)
Ohio	31,659		Receive no per diem (only weekly mileage during session)
Oklahoma	20,000		$35 (only mileage during session if legislator lives at home) (vouchered)
Oregon	10,200 based on 850/month		$62 (unvouchered)
Pennsylvania	35,000		$75 (vouchered)
Rhode Island		$300 (based on $5/day)	Receive no per diem (receive mileage each day of session attendance)
South Carolina	10,000		$70 subsistence (vouchered)

Table 27 1985 U.S. STATE LEGISLATURES ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE COMPENSATION AND PER DIEM LIVING EXPENSES

State	*Annual Salaries* $	*Per Diem Salary*	*Per Diem Living Expenses During Session*
South Dakota	6,000–2,800 during 35 day session and 3,200 during 40 day session		$75 (unvouchered)
Tennessee	12,500		$75 (unvouchered)
Texas	7,200		$30 (unvouchered)
Utah		$65/day for 45 days and $25/day for each calendar day of the session Salt Lake City	$25 subsistence/$50 lodging or mileage for legislators outside of
Vermont		$285/week during biennial session; $300/ week for adjourned session; $57 a day for each day ofsession called between biennial and the adjourned session and $60 if called any time following the adjourned session	$60 for room and meals if living in Montpelier or vicinity; if outside Montpelier, then $23.75/ for meals
Virginia	11,000		$71 (unvouchered)
Washington	13,750		$50 (unvouchered)
West Virginia	6,500		$50 (unvouchered)
Wisconsin	27,202		$45 ($22.50 if legislator lives inside Dane County) (unvouchered)
Wyoming		$75/day for 40 days in odd-numbered years and 20 days in even-numbered years	$60 (unvouchered)

Table 28 1986 ADDITIONAL COMPENSATION FOR U.S. LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

State	*Presiding Officer*	*Majority Leader*	*Minority Leader*	*Other Leaders*
AL	$2/day during session and an additional $1,500.00 a month in expenses	NONE	NONE	NONE
AK	$500/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
AR	$10,000/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
CA	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE
CO	$75/day up to $7,500 during interim	$75/day up to $7,500 during interim	$75/day up to $7,500 during interim	NONE
CT	$5,800/year	$4,800/year	$3,800/year	YES
DE	$7,500/year	$5,500/year	$5,500/year	YES
FL	$7,600/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
GA	$2,800/year	$2,400/year	$2,400/year	YES
HI	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE
ID	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE
IL	$10,000/year	$7,500/year	$10,000/year	YES
IN	$5,000/year	$3,500/year	$4,000/year	YES
IA	$7,300/year	$2,500/year	$2,500/year	NONE
KS	$8,534/year	$7,698/year	$7,698/year	YES
KY	$125/day/session	$120/day/session	$120/day/session	YES
LA	$32,000/year	NONE	NONE	YES
ME	$3,750/year	$1,875/year	$1,875/year	YES
MD	$5,000/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
MA	$35,000/year	$22,500/year	$22,500/year	YES
MI	$18,000/year	NONE	$14,000/year	YES
MN	$8,456/year	$8,456/year	$8,456/year	NONE
MS	$25,900/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
MO	$2,500/year	$1,500/year	$1,500/year	NONE
MT	$5/day during session	NONE	NONE	NONE
NE	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE
NV	$500/session	$500/session	$500/session	NONE
NH	$25/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
NJ	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE
NM	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE
NY	$30,000/year	$25,000/year	$25,000/year	YES

Table 28 1985 ADDITIONAL COMPENSATION FOR U.S. LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

State	*Presiding Officer*	*Majority Leader*	*Minority Leader*	*Other Leaders*
NC	$31,476/year	$17,676	$15,480 year	YES
ND	$10/day/session	$10/day/session	$10/day/session	NONE
OH	$17,691/year	$13,368/year	$13,368/year	YES
OK	$9,330/year	$6,440/year	$6,440/year	NONE
OR	$850/month	NONE	NONE	NONE
PA	$19,600/year	$15,680/year	$15,680/year	YES
RI	$5/day	NONE	NONE	NONE
SC	$11,000/year	NONE	NONE	YES
TN	$6,000/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
TX	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE
UT	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE
VT	$6,055 for biennial and $6,300 for adjourned session	NONE	NONE	NONE
VA	$12,000/year	NONE	NONE	NONE
WV	up to $150/day during session	up to $125/day during session	up to $125/day during session	NONE
WY	$33/day/session	NONE	NONE	NONE

Table 29 1986 U.S. STATE LEGISLATURES SESSIONS CALENDARS

	Dates	*Limits*
AL	Jan. 14–April 28	30 legislative in 105 calendar days
AK	Jan. 13–mid-May	120 calendar days
AZ	Jan. 13–late April	April 26 (by legislative rule)
AR	No regular session	60 calendar days
CA	Jan. 6–Aug. 31	None
CO	Jan. 8–May 27	140 calendar days
CT	Feb. 5–May 7	May 7
DE	Jan. 14–June 30	June 30
FL	April 8–June 6	60 calendar days
GA	Jan. 13–early March	40 legislative days
HI	Jan. 15–mid April	60 legislative days
ID	Jan. 6–mid March	None
IL	Jan. 8–June 30	None
IN	Jan. 13–March 15	March 15
IA	Jan. 13–late April	None
KS	Jan. 13–April 12	90 calendar days
KY	Jan. 7–April 15	April 15
LA	April 21–July 14	60 legislative in 85 cal. days
ME	Jan. 8–early April	50 legislative
MD	Jan. 8–April 7	90 calandar days
MA	Jan. 1–all year	None
MI	Jan. 8–all year	None
MN	Session dates uncertain	120 legislative or 1st Monday after 3rd Sat. in May
MS	Jan. 7–April 6	90 Calendar days
MO	Jan. 8–May 15	May 15
MT	No regular session	90 legislative days
NE	Jan. 8–early April	60 legislative days
NV	No session	None
NH	Jan. 8–Aprilsion	45 legislative days
NJ	Jan. 14–all year	None
NM	Jan. 21–Feb. 19	30 calendar days
NY	Jan. 8–all year	None
NC	Probable June session	None
ND	No regular session	80 legislative days
OH	Jan. 6–all year	None
OK	Jan. 7–June	90 legislative days
OR	No regular session	None
PA	Jan. 7–all year	None
RI	Jan. 7–May	None
SC	Jan. 14–June	None
SD	Jan. 7–late February	35 legislative days
TN	Jan.–May	90 legislative days
TX	No regular session	140 calendar days
UT	Jan. 13–Feb. 26	45 calendar days
VT	Jan. 8–April	None
VA	Jan. 8–March 8	60 calendar days
WA	Jan. 13–March 13	60 calendar days
WV	Jan. 8–March 8	60 calendar days
WI	Jan. 28–May 22	None
WY	Feb. 11–early March	20 legislative days

(Session adjournment dates are either constitutionally mandated or are estimates based on recent legislative practice).
• limit on number of days for which legislatures may be paid or receive per diem.

EUROPE—THE COST OF DEMOCRACY

This article, which is reprinted with the kind permission of The Economist, compares salaries and parliamentary budgets for those countries which are members of the European Economic Community. It should be noted that Members of the European Parliament itself are paid at the same level as Members of their national parliaments. The article first appeared in the August 2, 1986 edition of The Economist.

The Cost of Democracy

What price European democracy? As members of parliaments throughout Western Europe take off for their long summer break, taxpayers who voted them into their Bundestags, Folketings and Dails may well wonder. Britain and Spain, of the larger nations, seem to get democracy's best value for money; the French pay the most for their representatives; and the West Germans keep theirs the most unshowily.

Seldom do the costliest parliaments pack the most punch. Members of the supranational European Parliament are proof of that. A very rough idea can be formed of a parliament's cost-effectiveness by dividing the lower-house budget (members' pay, secretariat, administration, police, and so on) by the number of MPs. By this pernicious measure, the annual cost of keeping a member of Europe's newest parliament on the job is around $450,000 a head—higher than that of maintaining a member of any national parliament. The Euro-MPs ironically spent much of their time this year fighting to gain the decisive budgetary authority that EEC governments are still reluctant to give them.

Applied to the larger countries with similar populations (see chart), the same measure suggests that French deputies are the most burdensome for the taxpayers: they cost $445,000 a head. To be fair, French deputies are required to work quite hard. Their regular legislative sessions last no longer than the European average, but they are often summoned to "extraordinary" sessions. The oddity is that France's constitution, drafted on de Gaulle's return to power in 1958, is partly designed to limit the authority of the National Assembly. The elected French president has held democracy's hammer.

Only since the March election victory of Mr. Jacques Chirac's conservatives has the assembly begun reclaiming authority from the Socialist president, Mr. Francois Mitterrand, and earning their salaries. Even so, the habit of bypassing parliament is so ingrained that Mr. Chirac has sought to govern by decree on matters that are dear to him.

On the cost-per-head scale, Britain and Spain get their parliaments cheapest among the larger countries of Europe. Although members of the House of Commons voted themselves an increase of nearly 50% in allowances last week before leaving, they are, by European standards, a bargain to the taxpayer. They cost some $175,000 each, about the same as their counterparts in Spain. West Germany's and Italy's parliamentarians cost more than twice as much.

A subject which preoccupies Europe's parliaments as much as any is their members' remuneration. This is a fitting concern when judged by the French maxim that parliamentarians' pay should be high enough to keep the honourable members honourable. Salaries are not everything—allowances and a fine array of perks can bridge the difference between misery and comfort—but they offer some indica-

tion of where European countries place their parliamentarians on life's ladder of achievement.

Again, French deputies come out on top (see chart). On the middle rung stand Dutch and Danish MPs, the latter having just received a solid leg-up by voting themselves a 37% pay rise for their return from holiday. On an isolated bottom rung come the Portuguese, who earn only half the salary of the Greeks, the next worst paid, and about one-third that of the modestly paid British.

Democracy being what it is, not all parliamentarians pocket their full salaries. In West Germany, for example, the Greens take only the equivalent of the average skilled worker's wage, putting the rest of their Bundestag pay into an ecology fund. In France, Communist deputies pay their total remuneration into a party fund; their own take-home pay is not meant to exceed that of a Parisian manual worker.

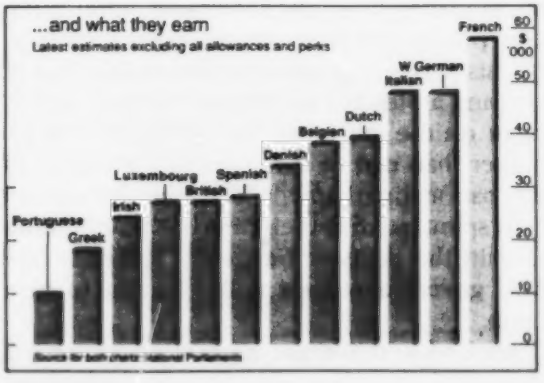
Allowances are the key to a comfortable parliamentary life. A secretary is commonly paid for, although a research assistant is a rare bird. While the Irish have to make do with slim per diem payments, the allowance received by West German MPs for office expenses, given that it is tax-free, is equivalent to their entire salary. Yet the Germans lack the prestige of a gilded workplace steeped in history. When Bundestag members return to Bonn from their holidays in September they will meet in an old waterworks. The experience should not worry them. Their permanent home, now under repair, is a former teachers' training college. They plan to go back there in a couple of years. It is, the Germans like to say, the home of the most durable democracy they have ever known.

Allowances apart, it is the perks that help make a parliamentarian's lot bearable. Perks are extraordinarily varied across Europe. They range from free postage (almost universal) and hefty tax breaks to free travel. The Italians, among the highest-salaried of all, are entitled to unlimited free travel by train or airline within Italy-and to three flights a year to other European countries. (On the other hand, the Rome parliament does not pay for members' secretaries, which is unusual). In Scandinavia, travel privileges are scarcer: they are limited mainly to trips between home and parliament.

One measure of whether parliamentarians earn their keep is how often they are present in or around their respective chambers. Few national parliaments sit for as many as half the year's working days. Even so, absenteeism is widespread. That is due partly to the desire of members to keep their faces to the fore in their constituencies. MPs from countries that use proportional representation, like Holland, have less excuse.

There are ways to forestall absenteeism. In the House of Commons, for example, MPs are required by their parties to vote unless they are paired with an opponent. Their physical presence is necessary. In a close vote, the incapacitated have on occasion been dragged into the division lobby. Ailing members can find themselves driven to the Commons by ambulance and conveyed through the lobby on a stretcher. German MPs are liable to a fine of up to $70 for staying away from a sitting.

In Italy, discipline is slacker. Deputies with heavy government responsibilities are often



the worst stay-aways. Mr. Bettino Craxi, the prime minister, is said to have taken part in just 122 of 2,258 votes held in the Italian parliament in the past three years. And in France, where pay and allowances are juicier than elsewhere, there is no pressure on deputies to be present for run-of-the-mill votes. Many French viewers were surprised this summer when the state-run television showed how the voting is habitually done. Two or three deputies from each party were seen voting for their entire group by running along the benches to switch all their supporters' yea or nay keys.

European taxpayers might be tempted to seek comfort in the cost of American democracy. Each member of the House of Representatives, the lower house in Washington, costs America well over $1 million a year, mainly due to large personal staffs and the cost of running the powerful congressional committees. That is more than double the highest cost of an MP anywhere in Europe. But American democracy may still be cost-effective by comparison. A congressman usually represents around half a million constituents-ten times more than the average MP in Europe looks after.

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New Jersey

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New York

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CANADIAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Crowd on Parliament Hill, Ottawa celebrate the signing of Canada's Constitution, April 17, 1982.